

A
CHRISTIAN
IMPERATIVE

OUR CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD ORDER

BY

ROSWELL P. BARNES



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THE REVEREND ROSWELL PARKHURST BARNES was born at Council Bluffs, Iowa and was educated at Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, Pennsylvania, and Lafayette College, from which he received his bachelor's degree in 1924. He later took graduate studies at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary, New York. He was associate minister of the Park Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York City from 1928 to 1932, and then served as pastor of the University Heights Presbyterian Church for five years. In 1937 Mr. Barnes was called by the Federal Council of Churches to be associate secretary of its Department of International Justice and Goodwill. He served also as secretary of the Committee on International Relations of the Foreign Missions Conference. Since 1940 he has been associate general secretary of the Federal Council.

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Foreword

THIS book grows out of a two-fold conviction rooted in experience: first, that international affairs have come to such a desperate pass that the world cannot save itself by its own resources from irreparable disaster to much that is most valuable to mankind; second, that the Christian Church offers more hope for the rehabilitation of international society than any other institution in the world, and that if it could have a confident understanding of its mission and achieve a sufficient loyalty to its faith, it might be used of God to bring the world out of this present chaos into a brighter day.

It must be confessed that these are the convictions of one who some years ago became disillusioned about the possibility of saving the world through secular liberalism. Many comrades of earlier years have become hard and cynical or else they have become so weary and discouraged as to withdraw from the battle. The conviction of the indispensability of the church is based, therefore, both upon experience and upon faith.

In these pages will be found a tendency to judge political theory and policy not so much in terms of secular pragmatism as in terms of principles believed to be intrinsic in the Christian understanding of the world and of history. When international policy is considered, it is considered from the point of view of the churchman. When experiences

abroad are reported, they are reported from the point of view of one who has considered himself to be a representative of the church rather than of his government.

The reader will find little debate of problems upon which there is deep division of opinion and disturbing controversy among churchmen. The attempt is made to clarify insights and to define policies on which it is believed there can be obtained a sufficient measure of agreement to rally the forces of the churches to a constructive program. There has been no inclination to evade difficult issues; but the author believes that there are so many significant things the churches can do if they will, that they should not in this hour of crisis permit their energy and attention to be so completely absorbed in the debate of political issues that they will be paralyzed in their main tasks. There is a contribution that the church can make to the world today that no other institution can make. There is a contribution that we can make as churchmen through the church that we cannot make as citizens through the governments of national states. This is not to deny the very great importance of the responsibilities of the Christian as citizen. In fact, those responsibilities are not neglected. They are defined pointedly; but the main concern of this book is so to emphasize the possibilities of significant work that open before us by virtue of our being members of the Church of Christ as to encourage the devotion of a much larger portion of our time and energy to our responsibilities as churchmen within and through the churches.

The author was very much impressed, upon handing his card to a thoughtful diplomatic official of the American gov-

erninent in a European capital in January of 1940, to have the diplomat hold the card out to him with all of the printing covered by his thumb except the title "Reverend." He spoke emphatically before proceeding with the conversation: "That is the most important part of your name for your work in this terrible crisis. There are many things that you can do as a minister of the church that I cannot do. Unless you do your work, all that I and the rest of us in government offices can do will be futile." It is hoped that this book will do something to indicate to the church people of America that what they do in and through the Church of Christ throughout this whole tragic period of history may constitute their most realistic and significant contribution to their day and generation.

There is no more strategic work in the world today than the work of the church. Where others are haunted by misgivings as to the ultimate value of their life activity, we who are in the church can work with confidence that even though we may not immediately achieve our purposes, our life activity is immediately relevant and cannot ultimately be futile. This observation indicates the faith that this book assumes—that God rules and presides over the destinies of peoples as well as individuals. Anyone who believes that human affairs are only a blind struggle in the dark will find this book quite meaningless. He is invited, however, to read these pages with the friendly challenge that his position will not hold if he is willing to face the observable facts that history lays before us.

A thrilling and fateful chapter is being written today in the history of the Christian Church. That chapter may

well prove to be one of the highest significance in the record of our time. Therefore, we approach our task with the utmost seriousness.

New York City
February, 1941

R. P. B.

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R. P. B.

A CHRISTIAN IMPERATIVE

PROLOGUE: THE SPIRIT OF

A PASSAGE FROM THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS¹
BY AN UNKNOWN APOSTOLIC FATHER

Christians are not distinguished from the rest of mankind by country, or by speech, or by customs. For they do not dwell in cities of their own, or use a different language, or practise a peculiar life. This knowledge of theirs has not been discovered by the thought and effort of inquisitive men; they are not champions of a human doctrine, as some men are. But while they dwell in Greek or barbarian cities according as each man's lot was cast, and follow the customs of the land in clothing and food, and other matters of daily life, yet the condition of citizenship which they exhibit is wonderful, and admittedly beyond all expectation. They live in countries of their own, but simply as sojourners; they share the life of citizens, they endure the lot of foreigners; every foreign land is to them a fatherland, and every fatherland a foreign land. They marry like the rest of the world, they beget children, but they do not cast their offspring adrift. They have a common table, but not a common bed. They exist in the flesh, but they live not after the flesh. They spend their existence upon earth, but their citizenship is in heaven. They obey the established laws, but in their own lives they surpass the laws. They love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown, and yet they are condemned; they are put to death, and yet they give proof of new life. They are poor, and yet make many rich; they lack everything, and yet in everything they abound. They are dishonored, and their dishonor becomes their glory; they are reviled, and yet are vindicated. They are abused, and they bless; they are insulted, and repay insult

THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

WRITTEN PROBABLY WITHIN THE FIRST FIFTY
YEARS OF THE SECOND CENTURY

with honor. They do good, and are punished as evil-doers; and in their punishment they rejoice as finding new life therein. The Jews war against them as aliens; the Greeks persecute them; and yet they that hate them can state no ground for their enmity.

In a word, what the soul is in the body Christians are in the world. The soul is spread through all the members of the body; so are Christians through all the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, and yet it is not of the body; so Christians dwell in the world, and yet they are not of the world. The soul, itself invisible, is detained in a body which is visible; so Christians are recognized as being in the world, but their religious life remains invisible. . . . The soul loves the flesh that hates it, and the members thereof; so Christians love them that hate them. The soul is enclosed within the body, and itself holds the body together; so too Christians are held fast in the world as in a prison, and yet it is they who hold the world together. Immortal itself, the soul abides in a mortal tenement; Christians dwell for a time amid corruptible things, awaiting their incorruption in heaven. The soul when it is stinted of food and drink thrives the better; so Christians when they are punished increase daily all the more. So great is the position to which God has appointed them, and which it is not lawful for them to refuse.

¹ Translation by L. B. Radford in *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church, Vol. I to A.D. 313*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1920.

A MESSAGE TO ALL PEOPLES

*Adopted by the International Missionary Council at its
Closing Session, Madras, 1938*

We call upon our fellow-Christians throughout the world to join us in a new dedication. Surely God is summoning us in these times to let go our self-sufficiency, to frequent his altars, to learn of him, and to make his ways known in all the relationships of life. To make him known in the state involves labor for the establishment of justice among all the people. In the world of commerce it involves the ending of unregulated competition for private gain and the beginning of emulation for the public good. Everywhere it involves self-sacrificial service. God grant to his Church to take the story of his love to all mankind, till that love surround the earth, binding the nations, the races, and the classes into a community of sympathy for one another, undergirded by a deathless faith in Christ.

Chapter One

CHAOS—CHRISTIANS MUST FACE IT!

HAS there ever been a time when the overwhelming majority of the people of the world desired order, justice, and peace more earnestly than today? Has there ever been a time when chaos and destruction were more prevalent in the world than today?

Our high purposes seem to have no relevance to the facts of experience. Our desires to build, and to make life better, are thwarted by the march of forces and events for which we seem to have no direct responsibility.

Such is our world. A young English doctor, after long years of exacting study, undertakes laborious research on cancer. He takes his place in the line of those who have spent their lives in the fight with disease and have freed humanity from one scourge after another. He applies man's scientific knowledge, acquired through generations, to the improvement of life. But in the midst of his experiments he is taken away to some military hospital to patch up the victims of bomb and shrapnel—also devised by man's scientific knowledge, but used as the instruments of death.

Or a German youth, studying architecture in Paris, preparing to build new structures of beauty and utility, an

admirer of the French and of French culture, is called away from his study to fly an airplane that will kill French people and destroy at least some values of their culture—perhaps some of their irreplaceable gems of architecture.

In another part of the world a Chinese college professor, training students for educational work in the villages under the New Life Movement, sees his library and laboratory burned, and sets out on the long trek westward, leaving his home to unwelcome visitors. And in the same country a peasant, peacefully tilling his meager strip of land, as his fathers have done for generations before him, sees huge power-wings swoop down upon his village and blow his home and family to pieces.

These people may have no ill will toward those of other nations against whom they are making war. It may be that they are involved in destruction only by virtue of the fact that they are citizens of nations set over against each other. Blood brothers may be caught thus. We recall the fact that sons of Madame Schumann-Heink fought against each other in the first World War. Other families are thus caught today.

THIS TRAGIC ERA

From the foregoing examples, which are characteristic of the experience of millions of people, we are reminded that the present tragic fate of large sections of humanity has no direct relation to their own life purposes and motives. They ask, "Has life no meaning?"

But a still more baffling contradiction between the actuality of war and the desire for peace lies in the fact

that destruction and the aspiration toward justice and order often go hand in hand. German youths as well as British youths fight today in the sincere belief that they are fighting for justice and order. Whatever may be our judgment or the judgment of history concerning the war purposes of their respective nations and the consequences of victory for one side or the other, we cannot doubt the sincerity of high conscious motive on the part of many of those who fight and die on both sides. We cannot escape the fact that men's highest loyalties and motives are behind the instruments that rain destruction and death. It is not that these men want war; it is that they feel themselves caught, with no honorable alternative. Thus caught, they, too, ask, "Has life no meaning?"

In February, 1940—in the midst of war—a sad and bewildered French father put the question somewhat rhetorically in this way: "What kind of world is this, in which half of each generation must be killed in order that the other half may live out the remainder of their years in a confused post-war world of reconstruction and readjustment?"

Even when we in this country are far removed from scenes of destruction and death, our thought is much occupied with the same questions. They are less poignant, to be sure; but there is a feeling that the whole world is caught in a catastrophe the end of which we cannot see. If we were confident that the wars would set us on the road to better days than we have known before, that a victory for the side we believe to be right would assure a new order of justice and permanent peace, our attitude would be quite

different. But we have no such confidence, partly because we were so excessively hopeful about what would be achieved by the last war in which we participated. Moreover, we would still be concerned with war as an evil, regardless of its results.

In the first World War the overwhelming majority of our people were impelled by lofty motives. The ends for which they fought were defined clearly and eloquently by President Wilson:

The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force. . . .

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. . . .

No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. . . .

For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure. For these are the things we have always professed to desire, and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed, we may never be able to unite or show conquering force again in the great cause of human liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If the forces of autocracy can divide us they will overcome us: if we stand together, victory is certain and the liberty which victory will secure.¹

¹ Message to the Provisional Government of Russia, May 26, 1917.

When the war was ended successfully, it was assumed that these purposes had been achieved. In his message to Congress announcing the signing of the Armistice, President Wilson sincerely expressed the prevailing belief of this nation and our allies that the war had overcome the evils it had fought:

We know that the object of the war is attained; the object upon which all free men had set their hearts; and attained with a sweeping completeness which even now we do not realize. Armed imperialism such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany is at an end, its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will now seek to revive it? The arbitrary power of the military caste of Germany which once could secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world is discredited and destroyed. And more than that—much more than that—has been accomplished.¹

It was not long until we realized that the tremendous sacrifice of the war had not achieved what it had been intended to achieve and what it had at the time of the Armistice seemed to have achieved. The realization that the war itself did not accomplish our purposes brought such a bitter disillusionment that many became skeptical about the possibility of modern war achieving any high purposes. The subsequent attempts to organize the world for peace also failed to prevent wars and cynicism increased.

But there are other aspects of chaos in the world community quite as tragic as the death left in the trail of high explosives. I cannot forget the honest, kind, pathetic face of an eighteen-year-old youth who stood at the edge of an

¹ Message to Congress, November 11, 1918.

internment camp in France on a Sunday afternoon in February, 1940, disconsolately watching me as I left after an inspection visit. He had fled from Vienna into Switzerland at the time of the Nazi occupation of his country. Next he had gone to France, where he had lived as a refugee hoping to come to the United States, until the war broke out. Then, because he was an "enemy alien," he had been put into this camp. Can you imagine a more bitter irony? The lad had already paid heavily for his opposition to the Nazi régime of Germany. He was an exile, not because of race or nationality but because of conviction. Then he was put in prison because of his nationality in a country that was fighting the same Nazi régime which he had opposed. He pleaded with me as if his life were at stake—as perhaps it was, more than he or I realized—to do something to advance his application number on the waiting list with the American consul in Paris so that he might obtain a visa for the United States.

To report this story is not to criticize France. For, scattered among the *bona fide* political refugees in France, there were also undoubtedly a few pro-Nazis who might have been spies. A majority of the refugees had already been released after investigation. Moreover, if this lad had come to our country, his troubles would not have been over; for here he would have been under suspicion of being a "fifth columnist."

Take another aspect of our chaos: At this writing there are babies in France and Belgium whose physical development is being impaired because of an insufficiency of some things of which we have a surplus. Over there is need;

here in our land is ability to provide. And yet, because this is such a hectic, absurd world, the babies cannot be helped to any adequate extent. The reasons are well known. The blockade is one of Great Britain's weapons of warfare. Better let some people starve now—they argue—than permit the extension of slavery. It is Hitler's responsibility to feed the children of Holland and Belgium. To permit food to pass through the blockade would relieve him of one of his greatest problems. Starvation may be conducive to revolution. Therefore, stern realism requires that the present welfare of the children be sacrificed for their future welfare and the general welfare. Such are the reasons which prevail at the moment. Whether they are justifiable is a matter of debate. The fact remains that the babies have our sympathy but not our help.

No wonder the contemporary cartoonist pictures the savage as contemptuous of civilization! Modern man has devised sharp knives and intricate tools to serve his own comfort and welfare but turns them upon himself in suicidal mania. Consequently, the cycle theory of history seems to some pessimists to provide the only realistic pattern into which to fit the events of the modern world. That theory appears to deny that one generation or period of history learns anything from the experience of those that have gone before. Just as in the physical world generation follows generation, each beginning in the primitive ignorance of infancy, growing through youth and maturity to senility and the grave; as the seasons follow without variation—spring and new life, summer and development, autumn and ripeness, winter and decay—so in history each cycle

starts with barbarism, progresses through culture and maturing civilization, which in time grows soft and decadent and gives way to a newly emerging barbarism. Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome had their periods of power and high civilization. Then life became stale and decadent for them and they became the easy prey to vigorous barbarians. And now, according to the late German scholar, Oswald Spengler, the "decline of the West" is reaching its climax and we are caught.

The brilliant poet, Robinson Jeffers, writing from the detachment of his rocky home on the California coast, sees America going down along with the other advanced nations and bids his sons retreat from civilization, which is doomed, to the mountains, where they can at least live a hearty physical existence close to nature. He carries his analysis to its logical conclusion of the hopelessness of civilization in "Shine, Perishing Republic!"

And boys, be in nothing so moderate as in
love of man, a clever servant, insufferable master.
There is the trap that catches noblest spirits, that
caught—they say—God, when he walked on earth.¹

To look at our civilization today is to wonder whether the gods have not made us mad. At the very hour in history when scientific knowledge and inventive genius have reached a point where they can give to humanity the material basis for the good life for most people, we are making an incredible chaos of our life together in the community of nations, turning science to our destruction;

¹ From *Roan Stallion, Tamar and Other Poems*, by Robinson Jeffers, page 95. Reprinted by courtesy of Random House, Inc.

and many despair of the future. Reasonable people are questioning whether they should bring children into a world that faces such an ominous future. In some respects, at least, we have been made so mad that we are destroying ourselves. It is easy to be cynical and to accept the demoralizing cycle theory of history.

It is not uncommon to find men long associated with the Christian Church asking how it is possible to believe that a God of mercy and justice rules. Men seek peace and get war. Little children are killed by bombs. If God rules, they ask, how can these things be?

It is in such a world as this that the Christian lives. In such a world stands the Church. We must look squarely at the most disturbing facts. We must understand men's gravest misgivings. Otherwise we shall ourselves be blind to significant facts of life in the world today and go farther down the road that leads almost inevitably to disillusionment and cynicism; and we shall find that we have no word profound enough to answer men's most insistent questions.

WHY ARE CHRISTIANS ESPECIALLY CONCERNED?

Everyone is interested in war. War is dramatic, absorbing. To some spectators from a relatively safe distance, it may be an ideal distraction from boredom, a perfect compensation for an occupational routine devoid of competition and risk. It has all the psychological values of the horse race and boxing match for attracting attention—plus huge stakes: life and death, nations and empires.

This observation is not sordid and cynical. It is necessary

for an understanding of people's preoccupation with war news. Lewis Mumford has said in a penetrating study of contemporary civilization that

. . . war is the supreme drama of a completely mechanized society; . . . war relieves it from the pettiness and prudence of its daily efforts, by concentrating to their last degree both the mechanization of the means of production and the countering vigor of desperate vital outbursts.¹

When a man closes his book or interrupts his bridge game to listen to the last radio round-up of reports from Europe, he is not necessarily indicating that he has a deep concern for Europe's troubles. He may only be indicating that the news is to him more interesting than the book or bridge game. He may even have contempt for the Europeans. If he has friends or relatives involved in the war, his interest will be more intense. He may also fear lest his own life or his son's may become involved. The point is this: It does not necessarily follow from the fact that everyone is interested in war that everyone is interested in the great problems of international relations. Let the war and its threat to personal security end, and many people will disregard the dispatches from London, Berlin, and Bucharest in their haste to get to the sports page and the local news.

However, many intelligent and sensitive people are deeply, sincerely, and unselfishly troubled about the problems of the world today. They are not indifferent to the destruction of lives by thousands. They know that volcanic

¹ *Technics and Civilization*, by Lewis Mumford, pp. 309, 310. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934. Used by permission.

upheavals now in process may change substantially the structure of our civilization. Many are concerned; but Christians must be concerned.

For us Christians, international problems are not a matter of optional interest, to be taken or left as we choose. They do not lie on the margin of the church's responsibility, but at its center. The problem of world order is for Christians an imperative.

THE CHRISTIAN WORLD-VIEW

In the first place, the Christian's concern for world problems derives from the Christian world-view. He believes that the world was created by God and that all men are created by God. Furthermore, the Christian sees the relationship of God and man in terms set forth by Christ. This means that he conceives of God as the Father of all men, having a concern for the welfare of all his children that surpasses even the love of a natural father for his children.

This world-view is explicit in many of our most familiar hymns. Perhaps it has become so commonplace that we do not usually think of the implications of it for our attitude toward everyday matters. One turns to a widely used church hymnal and finds the very first hymn starting with the line: "All people that on earth do dwell." The first stanza of the fourth hymn reads:

Men and children everywhere,
With sweet music fill the air!
Nations, come, your voices raise
To the Lord in hymns of praise!

One of the stanzas of our widely used hymn, "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name," reads:

Let every kindred, every tribe,
On this terrestrial ball,
To him all majesty ascribe,
And crown him Lord of all.

In another hymn of prayer we sing: "Dear Lord and Father of mankind."

We could cite many other examples to remind ourselves of the deep and immediate significance of the faith we so easily profess without thinking of its implications for our life in a world in which men and nations everywhere are estranged by war.

One of the foundation stones of the Christian faith is that "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son . . ." The concern that Christians have for all people rests not upon sentimental or romantic grounds, but upon their interpretation of the significance of man in terms of his origin and destiny—his relation to God.

It follows, therefore, that when there is tragedy anywhere, it is of concern to Christians everywhere. An American Christian cannot be indifferent to conditions that degrade life in China or Germany or Africa. He is responsible, as a brother, for attempting to secure justice and good will for every child of God.

Our responsibility for supporting right against wrong derives also from another aspect of our world-view. The Christian believes that God rules in history. Herein lies the basis for our belief that this is a moral universe, that

history has meaning and that moral factors are ultimately the determining elements in human experience. The Christian cannot detach himself from conflicts abroad on the ground that they are no concern of his, but only incidents in a meaningless struggle of blind forces in the dark. Nor can he justify indifference on the ground that the degradation and destruction of life are only the inevitable results of the operation of economic laws.

One cannot be a Christian and maintain that one has no responsibility for what happens to a peasant in the Yangtze valley in China, or a child in the slums of New York or London; or a youth in Berlin. By our Christian definition of what we are, we are members of the family of God and therefore have obligations from which there is no escape.

CHRIST'S LIFE AND TEACHING

Through all our Lord's teaching runs the emphasis on social responsibility. It is a part of our responsibility to God. The two great commandments that summarize man's obligations make an indivisible whole—love for God and love for neighbor, without limitation of nation or race. The parable of the Last Judgment pictures man's eternal destiny as being determined by what he has done for "the least of these"—other members of the family of God. Very specifically Jesus assigned the whole world, including every nation, to his followers as their field of operation. The "great commission"—"Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel unto every creature"—follows necessarily from the belief that "God so loved the world. . . ." Had there not been this world responsibility among the early Christians, where

would we—and the world—be today? How humble we should be when we think of our times and sing such a hymn as that by John Oxenham, which confesses a truth of our religion!

In Christ there is no East or West,
In him no South or North;
But one great fellowship of love
Throughout the whole wide earth.

THE CHURCH¹

The early Christians knew well that national or racial or class differences did not determine priorities in the fellowship of the Church where, as St. Paul wrote to the Colossians, "there is neither Greek nor Jew, . . . Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free."

Today the Church of Christ is coextensive with the habitable world. It includes within its fellowship men and women of every nation, race, and language. The implications of this fact are tremendous. Church membership for many people in our country has become such a conventional and formal matter that we are likely to forget these implications. Stop to consider our relation with Japanese, Indian,

¹ The word "church" has various meanings at different points in our discussion. It may refer to (1) the transcendent, timeless, universal fellowship of all believers, the mystic Body of Christ, which is not subject to the chances and changes of men's loyalties and judgments; (2) the historical institution for the policies and success and failure of which we human beings have at least a measure of responsibility; and (3) a particular national, denominational, or local institution. The word is capitalized—Church—when the first meaning is intended or when the second meaning approaches the first. Otherwise it is not capitalized, in which case the human aspect of the institution is in mind.

African, Russian, Swedish, German, and English Christians. We have more that is important in common with these fellow-Christians around the world than we have with some people with whom we associate in everyday life. Christians, no matter what their nationality or language, have the same understanding of the meaning of life, its origin, purpose, and destiny; they have essentially the same standards of conduct; they have committed themselves to the same principles; they worship the same God, follow the same Master, study his life and teaching in the same gospel; they express the highest impulses of their spirits through the same prayers and hymns; they approach the great mysteries through the same sacraments, and life's experiences, such as marriage and death, through the same ceremonies. The things we have in common with others by virtue of our political citizenship, nationality, or race are relatively secondary: loyalty to the same temporal state, traditions of civic life, common language, customs, dress, folk ways, skin pigmentation.

You and your neighbor or business associate or the clerk who works at the next counter in the store may have grown up together, gone to school together, played the same games, read the ~~same~~ papers, listened to the same radio programs, pledged allegiance to the same flag. Still he may differ with you concerning the meaning and purpose of life, and the principles that guide his conduct. He may hold that there is no God, or that, if there is, God has no concern for what happens to us; that we are nothing more than highly intelligent anthropoid apes; that physical comfort and sensuous enjoyment or the achievement of power are the ends to live

for in a world in which each man must fight for himself and the devil take the hindmost; that prayer has no meaning except self-projection, because life, including thought, is mechanistic; and that the realistic, hard-headed standard of conduct is "Take what you want and can get away with." He may be a healthy, prosperous, and genial individual; but is what you have in common with him as important as the values you hold in common with a Norwegian or an East Indian whose language you do not understand but who is a sincere and loyal Christian and who therefore shares your deepest convictions?

As members of the Christian Church we must be concerned with world problems. Through the Church, which is the Body of Christ, we Christians around the world are members one of another. War, when it disrupts the essential fellowship of the Church and causes estrangement among Christians, is a dismemberment of the Body of Christ. We cannot be content with an international order that is conducive to war, acquiesces in injustice to some peoples, and is contradictory to our world-view.

THE SINCERITY OF CHRISTIANS AT STAKE

The chaos and tragedy of international relations today constitute a special challenge to Christians because they claim to have the answer to all the world's problems. In the last analysis, international relations are relations between peoples. The church has professed to believe that the answer to all the world's needs is to be found in the gospel: the nations should live together as groups of men, women, and children in the family of God. In view of this profes-

sion, Christians are called upon to show the way. Secularism is obviously bankrupt. The confident, easy optimism of those who have thought that man without religion could build a just and brotherly society has been undermined by the events of recent years. Consequently, many are looking to the church wistfully, hoping—not without some measure of justifiable skepticism in view of its record—that it will be able to lead the way to a new order. The present crisis marks either a rapid decline into an impending period of darkness for humanity or the prelude to a better day than we have known. The challenge to the Christian church is a grave responsibility. Are our professions sincere and valid? Can we show the way and can we lead with sufficient wisdom, faith, courage, and love?

Can we, at least in the life and work of the church, give a demonstration of how people of different nations, races, and classes can live together as the family of God? Here, within our own institution and fellowship, our responsibility is most obvious and inescapable. Members of the church also belong to those groups—nations, races, and classes—that are set over against each other in the bitterness and conflict that are disrupting world society. If the church permits bitterness and conflict to disrupt its fellowship, it will both fail the world and betray its own faith.

Christians must be especially concerned about the world situation because—no matter what the outcome of the present convulsions of war—they have a continuing, God-given commission and task from which there is no release. No matter how evil and chaotic the world, the Christian must carry on. He has committed himself to do what he

believes to be the will of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. This may lead him to do things that the world does not accept or understand. The missionary, for example, does not go to the foreign field on the basis of a careful estimate of just how much he expects to accomplish in a given time. The Christian is driven by a voice speaking to his own soul. It is required of him only that he be faithful, not that he be immediately successful. The issue is with God.

Moreover, the true Christian is never futile, no matter how small a minority he may represent. Though the march of events may seem to trample him in the dust and to prove his witness invalid, he has a vocation to which he is committed irrevocably. In times of crisis especially the historical perspective inherent in the Christian vocation is needed. The Church has witnessed the rise and fall of empires, the change of economic and political structures. The little Christian community of the first century appeared at times to be defeated by persecution. A powerful pagan empire sought to crush out its life by prison and death. As judged by the world's short view, those early martyrs must have been regarded as senseless fanatics. But, following their vocation, they were agents of a Power greater than Rome. The Cross of Christ—the symbol of the Church—stands, "towering o'er the wrecks of time."



Chapter Two

WHAT IS WRONG?

THERE have been periods when it was important to point out that there were things wrong with the international order—periods of complacency or of romantic optimism. Today it is obvious to anyone with even a modicum of intelligence that there is plenty wrong. In the country store, the barber shop, the women's club, or the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, the amateurs and professionals debate as to what is wrong and what is needed.

On technical problems the experts have a competence that the rest must recognize. On many of the larger basic problems churchmen have a competence about which they are often too reticent and a responsibility that they dare not evade. They presumably have a historical perspective, because the Church has existed down across the centuries and has witnessed the rise and fall of nations and social orders. They should have, and some do have, an international perspective that is derived from the experience of the Church as an international fellowship and institution.

Therefore we proceed to a consideration of what is wrong: why are international relations always unstable, frequently chaotic and violent?

HUMAN NATURE

Whenever we talk about what is wrong with the world at any point, after discussing economic, political, psychological, sociological and other aspects of the problem, someone in the group calls us back to the inescapable, fundamental problem of human nature—"the old Adam." Whereupon some in the group take this reference to human nature as the signal to relax and surrender to all social evils as inevitable. After all, they say to themselves, it does not make much difference what the system or the rules; we cannot have a better world until we have better people. There is not much we can do about it all until by long, patient effort we gradually improve the stock. Others in the group will spring up in alarm and resentment at this alleged red herring that is being drawn across the trail of discussion. They fear that "the old Adam" is being brought in to provide an alibi for doing nothing; after all, the system does make a difference.

Can we not agree that human nature is a factor of the utmost importance, and that it can be changed by the grace of God? Selfishness and thirst for power are undeniably at the bottom of much that ails our world. The desire to hold what we have or to get what we ~~want~~ impels masses as well as individuals. There is some psychological validity in the division of nations into "haves" and "havenots," regardless of the economic and political facts. Fear, resentment, and greed simply cannot be left out of the picture. Some will account for these disastrous anti-social and destructive aspects of behavior on moralistic grounds, largely as the expressions of evil impulse. Others—with a

different theological approach—will regard them as “demonic,” i.e., not necessarily evil by conscious intent, but nevertheless evil and destructive in effect. We need not enter here into the fascinating and sometimes useful effort to explain evil conduct if we agree that it is characteristic of some individuals most of the time and of most groups some of the time. Regardless of the impulse or our explanation of the behavior, the fact of anti-social conduct remains. Take, for example, Herr Hitler: you may say that he is demon-possessed, the tool of evil; you may say that he is the most devoted, single-minded, and unselfish patriot the German race has had in generations; or you may say that he is the product of the World War, the Treaty of Versailles, the demoralization of Germany, and other historical factors. However you explain him, you are talking about human nature either as immoral or as likely to be the agent of demonic forces; and the social consequences are obviously such that we cannot disregard them.

But it is not only the destructive aspects of human behavior that must be taken into account. The inertia of the great majority of the “good” people may be quite as responsible for social ills as the initiative of “bad” people. Why did not the good people—including Americans—do more to put Europe in order while there was yet time? It was not that we thought all was well. Warnings were not lacking. Some people saw the direction in which events were tending and worked for such movements as seemed to give hope of averting disaster. But the inertia of most people let a bad situation grow worse. Perhaps the point can be made with a thrust of bitter irony by quoting

an article by Winston Churchill written in 1924. Reprinted as a pamphlet entitled "Shall We Commit Suicide?", it carried an introduction by Charles W. Eliot urging that it be "placed forthwith in every American household." Here is a paragraph headed "A New Crisis":

Let it not be thought for a moment that the danger of another explosion in Europe is passed. For the time being the stupor and the collapse which followed the World War insures a sullen passivity, and the horror of war, its carnage and its tyrannies, have sunk into the soul, have dominated the mind of every class and in every race. But the causes of war have been in no way removed; indeed they are in some respects aggravated by the so-called Peace Treaty and the reactions following there-upon. Two mighty branches of the European family will never rest content with their existing situation. Russia, stripped of her Baltic provinces, will, as the years pass by, brood incessantly upon the wars of Peter the Great. From one end of Germany to the other an intense hatred of France unites the whole population. This passion is fanned continuously by the action of the French government. The enormous contingents of German youth growing to military manhood year by year are inspired by the fiercest sentiments, and the soul of Germany smolders with dreams of a war of liberation or revenge. These ideas are restrained at the present moment only by physical impotence. France is armed to the teeth. Germany has been to a great extent disarmed and her military system broken up. The French hope to preserve this situation by their technical military apparatus, by their black troops, and by a system of alliances with the smaller states of Europe; and for the present at any rate overwhelming force is on their side. But physical force alone, unsustained by world opinion, affords no durable foundation for security. Germany is a far stronger entity than France, and cannot be kept in permanent subjugation.¹

¹ *Nash's Pall Mall Magazine*, September 24, 1924.

With such a clear, forceful warning from a recognized authority—and there were plenty of others—in 1924 and while there was yet time, who can say that the inertia of good people is not perhaps as important a consideration as any? And that is part of the problem of human nature.

INADEQUATE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

We must work to increase the intelligence and social responsibility of everyone. But we can do better, even with human nature as it is. The men and women who are involved in international relations also constitute the citizenship of the nations. Within the several nations life is generally better ordered than it is in the world community. Since the human material is the same in local and national communities as in the world community, there must be other things wrong with the world community besides human nature. One of these is the matter of social organization, political and economic.

In the civil community—the political state—we have order; in the world community, anarchy. What, essentially, is the difference between the social organizations of the political state and of the world community? It is not our purpose ~~to~~ analyze this difference in *détail*, but we must understand it in elementary principle, for it lies at the heart of the world's problem.

Anarchy prevails wherever each individual constituent member of the community is a law unto himself, the sole and final judge of his own cause. We have then literally a community without chief, ruler, or government. That is what we find in a primitive or a frontier society when

each man carries his own club or gun to impose his own will upon his neighbor. These weapons may be for defensive or offensive purposes. There are no courts and no police; consequently he depends upon his own resources to defend his life and property from assault. If he and a neighbor want the same hunting or fishing grounds, they may settle their conflicting desires peacefully between them or they may call in a third party to arbitrate; but if they fail to reach an agreement, they fight it out, and there are no court and police to intervene. This method proves to be so destructive that, as the community develops, a majority agree that they will make rules to govern their relations with each other and that they will delegate to some person or group the task of judging disputes, enforcing compliance with the decisions of judgment, and coercing or restraining those who continue to insist upon doing what they like, in disregard of the rules. Thus, when the anarchy of complete independence of conduct becomes too chaotic and expensive, men delegate certain prerogatives to a government of the community in the belief that in the end they will have a larger measure of justice and peace.

If these prerogatives are not delegated voluntarily, sooner or later one strong man or a man with more effective weapons or a group of men will dominate the community, disarm its members, impose their own rules arbitrarily, act as their own court and police, and thus establish order.

Whether the process be democratic and voluntary or autocratic and compulsory, anarchy gives way to relative order when a central agency responsible for relationships between individuals in the community is established with

law, courts, and police power. This is what every society has in some form or other if it is not an anarchy. And this is precisely what the world community does not have. It has laws, though not adequately codified. It has courts, with little authority. It has no police. Therefore it has anarchy.

In the world community, the several political states that comprise it still insist on being laws unto themselves in most important matters—final judges of their own causes. This insistence on independence for the state to do as it likes is usually referred to as the doctrine of national sovereignty. It is of crucial importance in the life of the world and in the life of the church; therefore, we must examine it.

Is the doctrine of national sovereignty compatible with the Christian world-view? We believe that God is the Ruler of the earth, that all men in all their affairs are subject to his law. His law is universal, the same for Chinese, Japanese, Brazilians, English, French, Germans, and Americans. How, then, can any group of men, combined as a political state, say that their own self-interest is the highest moral law? We look back a few centuries at another doctrine, "The king can do no wrong," and call it blasphemy. And yet, today, we say in effect—if we accept the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty—that the American people can do no wrong. Or we may concede that the state can do wrong but that it is not immoral for us as citizens to participate in that wrong if by so doing we serve the interests of the state. That is, literally, what we mean when we say, "My country, right or wrong." Thus we have a

duality of moral law as a consequence of the doctrine of national sovereignty: one code governs what I do as an individual before God; the other governs what I do as a citizen before the state. Cavour put it pointedly: "What scoundrels we should be if we did for ourselves what we do for Italy!"

Another point of confusion with regard to our attitude toward the political state arises from the assumption that the state is a part of the God-given order of creation. Here we must make a distinction between a race and a nationality on the one hand and a state on the other. Different races are indigenous to human society. Nationalities—distinct ethnic groups with characteristic and unique cultures, languages, and social customs—have existed from the beginning of human history. In comparison with the race or nationality, the modern national state is arbitrary or accidental. Moreover, in its present form it is a comparatively recent development in history, going back less than two centuries.

Government—the exercise of authority in the administration of public affairs—has Christian sanction: "The powers that be are ordained of God." (*Romans 13:1*) But to argue from this that a particular government, by the fact of its existence, has a divine sanction is to invite embarrassing questions: Is the atheistic government of Russia ordained of God? Is the German-dictated government of the Netherlands sitting in The Hague ordained of God? Would American Democrats and Republicans agree that each particular government in our history had been ordained of God? How can revolution be justified, as at least some of

the Protestant churches have justified it since the days of the Reformation and as the Roman Catholic church recently justified it by supporting rebellion in Spain?

The reason for raising these questions at this point is to suggest that, if moral distinctions are to be drawn between various political states and between the governments that define their respective policies, it is difficult to defend the doctrine of national sovereignty as universally valid on moral grounds and it then follows that we defend it in particular instances. Unless every particular government is ordained of God, how can it be affirmed dogmatically that the modern political state is ordained of God?

The Oxford Conference,¹ in analyzing what is wrong with the world of nations, said, "So far as the present evil is political the heart of it is to be found in the claim of each national state to be judge in its own cause."²

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America said, on June 3, 1938, "No nation has a right to be a law unto itself, or the sole judge of its own cause. The claim to that right is the basis of the present anarchy in the community of nations."

The doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of the state is

¹ Frequent reference is made in these pages to the Oxford Conference of 1937 because it is regarded as having expressed the most competent and comprehensive judgment of the churches in our time on the problems of "Church, Community and State," which was its theme. It was held under the auspices of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work and was attended by 853 persons representing the churches of 45 countries. The section of the conference on "The Universal Church and the World of Nations" dealt with the problems considered in this book.

² *The Message and Decisions of Oxford*, p. 79. New York, Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, 1937.

conducive to a denial or a disregard of the absolute sovereignty of God. The disregard of the absolute sovereignty of God leads to moral chaos, because this is a moral universe in which God presides over the destinies of nations as well as individuals. And moral chaos gives rise to political chaos.

The nub of the problem is here: When a nation admits no higher criterion of judgment for its behavior than what it believes to be its own welfare, it acts as if it were not under the governance of God. It is because so much of its policy is based upon consideration for its own welfare, justified by the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty, that we say that the doctrine is "conducive" to a denial or a disregard of the absolute sovereignty of God.

Churchmen and historians in Europe and America have been pointing out for some years that nationalism has become a religion for many people. It is the most significant and potent emotional factor in the public life of the peoples of the world in our time. Carlton J. H. Hayes, professor of history in Columbia University, whose book, *Essays on Nationalism*, is a classic which should be familiar to everyone who would understand the meaning of the modern state, says, "It is manifest to us who live in the West that Christianity for enormous numbers of people has become an adjunct to nationalism."¹

It is primarily because of the moral authority attributed to the state that nationalism has become a religion. But it also has some of the more obvious and secondary characteristics of a religion. Professor Hayes points these out in detail. The

¹ From *Essays on Nationalism*, by Carlton J. H. Hayes, p. 119. By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

constitution becomes for the people a sacred source of absolute authority. There are national shrines and altars: the legislative Assembly of France decreed in 1792 that "in all the communes an altar to the Fatherland shall be raised, on which shall be engraved the Declaration of Rights with the inscription, 'The citizen is born, lives, and dies for *la Patrie*.'"¹ (It is instructive to compare this with the first question of the Westminster Shorter Catechism: "What is the chief end of man?" Answer: "Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever.") The nation is assumed to be immortal. It has a ritual; a symbol—the flag; holy days—in this country the Fourth of July; temples—such as our Independence Hall and the Capitol; monuments; relics—of which our Liberty Bell is an example.

By secularizing public education we have prepared the way for nationalism to supplant the teachings of the Church as the inspiration for noble life and the source of moral standards and social ideals. Through the formative years, in the process of preparing the child to take his part in the life of the community, nationalism permeates the instruction and influence which mold him. Christianity is for many, by implication, an elective in the curriculum of life; one can "take it or leave it," as he likes.

Unless our Christian belief that God rules in history is all wrong, the state must be made subservient to his law—it must be subject to moral requirements above it and beyond it. And this will not happen until the people come to regard the state as under the governance of God and to fulfill their

¹ *Les Origines des Cultes Révolutionnaires*, by A. Mathiez; quoted by Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

citizenship in accord with this view of their supreme loyalty. There is no other adequate ground for the development of a morally responsible nationalism.

Underlying the moral problem involved in national sovereignty is proud, short-sighted selfishness. This motive is quite consistently condemned as evil in individual conduct; but in national conduct it is generally regarded as justifiable expedience, if not as positive good. The primary purpose of the state is to preserve itself, and by so doing it is assumed that it serves the interests of its citizens. The state is the self writ large; but a man will do for himself through the state what he will not do for himself as an individual. For example, a man is generally regarded to be a successful diplomat if he wins concessions and advantages for his nation. He need not be too scrupulous about the means. If he is successful, he is acclaimed and honored. In private life the same grasping and hard dealing is frowned upon.

John Foster Dulles has pointed out that responsible officers of corporate bodies in the field of business are legally obliged to seek profit for their stockholders. They are therefore estopped from any generosity to the community in the handling of the funds of the corporation. It is not their function to serve the welfare of the community, but to serve the welfare of the stockholders. The state is a body corporate. Its officers are expected to serve the interests of its citizens. As Mr. Dulles says:

The governor of New York is not supposed to sacrifice, to the smallest degree, the material interests of the New Yorkers, by whom he is chosen, in order to promote the welfare of the resi-

dents of the adjoining Province of Ontario. An American Congressman may feel that the general welfare would be promoted by a renunciation of the Allied war debts. But should he in his representative capacity vote to forego sums which if collected would in part go to the financial relief of his constituents? The Constitution of the United States contains, to be sure, a "general welfare" clause, but the welfare thereby envisaged is not truly "general."¹

The constitutional clause provides that "the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

There is a difference, however, between our attitude toward the self-serving policy of the business corporation and that of the state (though business should be subject to the same ethical standards as other aspects of public life). "Business is business"; but when the state negotiates a treaty to its own advantage, it is presumed to be achieving its sacred destiny and its citizens ascribe to it honor and glory. Furthermore, business is regulated by law in the interest of the general community; whereas the state is regulated by no law—in matters of vital interest—in the interest of the general world community. Fortunately, the practice of the state is occasionally better than its principle in this respect.

It is this moral justification of selfishness on the part of the state that makes for a dual moral standard in human relationships and that spreads chaos throughout the world community.

¹ *War, Peace and Change*, by John Foster Dulles, p. 25. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1939. Used by permission.

ECONOMIC MALADJUSTMENTS AND BARRIERS

The Oxford Conference said, "The unequal distribution of natural bounties is one of the causes of war, if control is used to create a monopoly of national advantages."¹

The meeting of the International Missionary Council at Madras, in 1938, said, "International disorder springs ultimately from the fact that men and nations cling selfishly to their powers, privileges, and possessions until compelled by force to share them."²

Difficulties over raw materials, markets, tariffs, and currencies are among the economic causes of international disorder. Usually it is almost impossible to separate the economic problems from political problems. It is because political sovereignty establishes control over economic resources and commercial and financial relationships that most of the troubles attributed to economic factors arise. Professor Eugene Staley, of the Fletcher School of Diplomacy, in a radio broadcast on April 13, 1940, explained the most important economic causes of war very simply:

Energetic and ambitious people who find that their economic opportunities, their chances to have a better living for themselves and their children, are blocked by economic walls that others have erected around territory over which these others have what is called "sovereignty," are likely to say: "We too must have sovereignty over our share of the world's riches. We must extend our boundaries. We must control territory ourselves, so that no one can deny us access to markets and raw materials." Demagogic leaders will be sure to exaggerate the

¹ *The Message and Decisions of Oxford*, p. 80.

² *The World Mission of the Church*, p. 119. New York, International Missionary Council, 1939. Used by permission.

extent to which the economic barriers of other peoples are to blame for troubles at home.¹

Professor Staley pointed out that uninterrupted commercial intercourse across their boundaries was important for the largest nations such as the United States, the British Empire, and the Soviet Union, but that it was "almost a matter of life and death" for the small and middle-sized countries such as Switzerland, Belgium, Japan, Germany, and Denmark. This is because in the modern world, with its mass production and specialization, the standard of living of a people depends in large measure upon their access to markets or raw materials beyond their own frontiers.

The trouble may arise not from peace-time barriers but from a nation's fear that in time of war it may be crippled because it is at the mercy of others. Then that nation is apt to go to great lengths to establish its economic independence. In so doing it adopts policies that disrupt its international commerce and bring hardships to other countries. Thus political and military considerations are so deeply involved in some of the economic problems that they may almost be regarded as causes of these problems.

On the other hand, economic considerations sometimes determine political or military policies. The investments of American citizens in Mexican oil have complicated the political relationships between the two nations. The competition between German, British, American, and Italian interests

¹ Excerpt from "Markets, Raw Materials, and Peace," a radio address delivered over the Columbia Broadcasting System, under the auspices of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. Used by permission.

seeking trade with South American countries has been a source of political tension. The fact that farmers in the United States are competitors of the farmers of Argentina who export beef and wheat could not be forgotten at the historically significant inter-American conferences which were held in 1938 and 1940 respectively at Lima and Havana.

As the Industrial Revolution produced far-reaching effects in the domestic political and social life of many countries, so industrial revolution in the world community is having a profound effect upon international relations. Empires that in past times rested primarily upon military power and political domination have more recently resorted to economic penetration to achieve their influence and control over resources. We in the United States could almost determine the political and economic fate of the Philippines by tariffs even after giving them political independence. Some of the Balkan states in Europe have been for a number of years under necessity of relating their political policies to the desires of those stronger nations which purchased their exports.

It is the combination of the inequitable distribution of economic advantages and the rigidity of the present system—resisting change except by force or the threat of force—that constitutes a major cause of war.

ETHICAL DISINTEGRATION

In addition to our fundamental and perennial troubles with human nature and the faults of the inadequate social organization of the world community, there is another per-

haps less obvious but no less important cause of today's chaos: the common ethical substructure of social life has been disintegrating. This process has been particularly marked in the Western world; but its effects have permeated every country.

The foundations of principle, thought, and philosophy upon which the structure of Western civilization has been built for many centuries have been crumbling. Just when this process began it is difficult to say, but it has been accelerated during the past few decades. It has not been so obvious in the democracies, especially in our own country. We have continued in the old ways from habit, scarcely aware that the principles upon which the habits were based have ceased either to be understood adequately or to command our loyalty. But on the continent of Europe, where social convulsions have disrupted life more profoundly and drastically, the people have learned that modern man has no longer a code of universal principles, generally accepted, by which to live.

In France, for example, the more thoughtful have discerned these signs of the times with increasing alarm during recent years. Especially since her hour of tragic national disintegration and humiliation in the early summer of 1940, it has been possible to see in clear focus a social pattern that is characteristic of more than France. An editorial in the French Protestant periodical *Evangile et Liberté* for July 3, 1940, reflecting upon the meaning of the nation's fate, contained some very sober and sobering observations, from which are taken the following:

We do not wish here to look for scapegoats, to scourge men,

groups, or parties. We know very well that there have been terrible responsibilities, errors, mistakes heavy with tragic consequences, even crimes. . . . It is not our task to single them out for public condemnation; but it is the task of a Christian periodical to go back to the source of the errors . . . that have led France to disaster.

It was a practical materialism, a thirst for gain and pleasure, that took more and more hold upon all classes in society, in consequence of the progressive ruin of the beliefs and ideals which generated moral strength, self-forgetfulness, and self-sacrifice. All that people had come to ask of life was the biggest possible amount of personal or family satisfaction. The state was to replace the fallen gods. . . .

No, indeed, misfortune does not simply rise from the dust. It has its roots in the depths of the heart.

We Americans can gain some insight into the meaning of this breakdown of ethical and moral standards by reflecting upon the conduct problems of our youth. The present rising generation does not have the advantage of clearly defined and commonly accepted standards of sex morality such as the older generation had in its youth. Then some things simply were not done and other things were done by self-respecting people. They did not necessarily know why; but the conventions were known and generally accepted, partly as a matter of inherited traditional habit.

But today—what are the conventions? Where are the standards? Look at Hollywood and the literature of "sophistication." Look at the divorce statistics and at your own community. How hard it is to shock the conscience of the community! Youth today is fundamentally as moral as the youth of any generation. But it must contrive its own standards, fortunate if it has understanding counsel from the older

generation. The trouble lies in the fact that, lacking a generally accepted standard, many take as their criterion of conduct, "Can I get away with it?"

This, in principle, is what has happened in international life in the face of the breakdown of standards. For many centuries the standard of conduct of the Western world has been influenced by commonly accepted principles derived partly from Christianity and partly from ancient Greece, though these principles have never been generally accepted in practice. It was to those principles that international law was related by Francisco di Vittoria and Grotius in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and by others later. Today those standards are conspicuously without the affirmative loyalty of the peoples. Rather, the standard for the nation is generally, "Can we get away with it?" Commenting on the then current "reconciliation gestures toward Russia" by our State Department, an editorial in the Minneapolis *Times-Tribune* of October 14, 1940, said, "We are brought face to face with the fact that nations in the necessities of war know no ideology, no history, naught but an obstinate will to exist." And in the realm of national conduct the immorality of such action is obscured by the doctrine of national sovereignty, which gives it sanction. In fact, nationalism gone to extremes is a chief underlying cause working for the destruction of the concept of universal moral standards.

Finding it necessary to have some pattern for life, the people have experimented with various new codes—communism, fascism, national socialism, class interest, or, perhaps more generally, nationalism. Had the old ethical foun-

dations been intact, the agencies for promoting international order might have been more successful. The League of Nations, the World Court, arbitration treaties, and other instruments for peace might have been adequate if there had been a sufficiently general acceptance of common moral standards. But national interest, class interest, or political and economic ideologies increasingly became the norms of group behavior. Then mutual trust and confidence evaporated.

War itself is a chief cause of social disintegration. Bitterness, suspicion, and vengefulness between people who have fought each other make it doubly difficult to achieve international cooperation. Within the domestic life of nations there is usually a moral reaction, a let-down of discipline, following a war. The dissipation and destruction of human, financial, and economic resources in war are conducive to depression and social tension following war. Most of the outrages reviewed in the beginning of our first chapter are aspects of war. Indeed it may truthfully be said that war is the worst thing wrong with our world. But it is more a symptom or an aspect of chaos than a cause, even though it in turn becomes a cause. The reason for our not devoting more attention to war itself in this book is that we are convinced that it is high time to think more about the underlying causes of our ailment.¹

This general ethical disintegration is also partly the result of the diffusing of personal social responsibility. My grandfather felt that it was incumbent upon him to look out for the welfare of needy families in his neighborhood, not only

¹ See also Chapter Three, "What Is Needed?"

those who were dependent upon him as employees but others as well. He took seriously the parable of the Good Samaritan. Today such community obligations are fulfilled by proxy under law. That is, we pay taxes for government relief or contribute to a "professional" social agency. Values of social cohesion and of personal community responsibility have been lost. I am not suggesting a return to the old ways; the benevolent paternalism of private charity had its ills, and it would probably not be able to cope with the needs of our present intricate and impersonal society. I am citing an example not of the causes but of the consequences of recent social change.

Thus, as government has of necessity undertaken many new tasks in the community, personal social responsibility of the individual citizens of all groups has been lessened and the bonds of human social solidarity have become weakened. Unemployment may become primarily a matter of abstract economic and political theory or of immediate business interest to a man who does not see the human consequences of unemployment in particular families.

A FALTERING AND DIVIDED CHURCH

We have been talking about what is wrong with human beings, with political organization, and with our contemporary society. We must also ask what is wrong with the churches. This question can be put in a very embarrassing way. Why is it that the countries that are presumably most predominantly Christian are among those that are most violently disturbing the patterns of our traditional culture, both in their internal life and in their international relations?

Germany has been known as the birthplace of the Reformation. Surely the Reformation was more thoroughgoing in that country at an early time than in almost any other. Probably as large a percentage of the German population has been, nominally at least, Christian as in any nation. As recently as in 1939 it was reported in Germany that an official census of school teachers indicated a registration of sixty-six per cent Protestant, thirty-three per cent Roman Catholic and one per cent German Faith. A large portion of those nominally registered as Protestant were probably not active church members, but they were in the line of church tradition, at least. Italy has been the seat of Roman Catholic influence consecutively through the centuries. It has had an unbroken tradition of strong Christian influence.

To go back a little farther, Russia was a nation in which the Christian church enjoyed a position of official sanction and prestige, great wealth, and considerable influence over the lives of most of the people. Today the church as an institution is largely suppressed and the smoldering embers of Christianity are kept alive largely by the careful nurture of some Christian homes.

The numerical and statistical strength of the churches—based on the proportion of the population reported as members of the church—has been less pronounced during recent decades in Britain and France and the United States than it has been in Germany and Italy. We have been told by British churchmen that not more than twenty per cent of the population had any vital contact with the church during recent years. It has been generally admitted that institutional religion has not been prospering in France in recent

years. A church official in New York City reported some time ago that in that city only about ten per cent of the population had more than a merely nominal attachment to a church or synagogue. These statistics were roughly the same for Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestants.

What are we to conclude from this cursory survey as to the relevance of the church to the problems of the world? The nations that at least in theory uphold the Christian principle and tradition are presumably less predominantly under the influence of the church than are the nations whose governments have been openly repudiating certain Christian principles and traditions, or at least insisting that the state should have authority over the church.

In answer to these embarrassing questions we must first point out that the churches have become more secularized than they have realized. This may be even more true of the churches in those countries where they had had the largest numerical strength and the greatest wealth. In some instances the church and the state have had almost identical policies. The church has lent sanction to the state in so far as international relations are concerned. It would almost seem as if the independence of the church was in inverse proportion to its institutional strength. When the church becomes a powerful and wealthy institution it becomes increasingly concerned about maintaining its own institutional rights and prosperity, and therefore increasingly reluctant to criticize the powers that be. The church and the people in the church become absorbed in matters of self-interest. This whole matter is very directly stated by Professor H. Richard Niebuhr:

The antithesis between the faith of the Church and the nationalist idolatry has always been self-evident. The prophetic revolution out of which Christianity eventually came was a revolution against nationalist religion. The messianic career of Jesus developed in defiance of the nationalism of Judaism and of Rome. In some sense Christianity emerged out of man's disillusionment with the doctrine that the road to life and joy and justice lies through the exercise of political force and the growth of national power. The story of its rise is the history of long struggle with self-righteous political power. Yet in the modern world Christianity has fallen into dependence upon the political agencies, which have become the instruments of nationalism, and has compromised with the religion they promote.¹

Here we see another aspect of the significance of the state. It has increased its influence upon the lives and loyalties of the people at some points where it has at the same time undermined the influence of the church. It is not only in the states that have become totalitarian as a matter of deliberate and permanent policy that the influence of the church is threatened. It may be that the direct challenge is a good thing for the church. As we have already seen, even the democratic state becomes totalitarian in a time of crisis such as ours. Then the church must at least not be antagonistic to the state, or it is disciplined by the state. Whether the authority of the state is arbitrary or democratic, it has undermined the authority and influence of the church because of its attributes of sovereignty.

Whatever our explanation or analysis, we must admit that the church has not been an effective agency in preventing the present chaos. This does not mean to say that it has

¹ *The Church against the World*, by H. Richard Niebuhr *et al.*, p. 134. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1935. Used by permission.

not given the right advice. If we look back over the official statements of the churches during the last twenty years, we will find many judgments and warnings eminently justified by subsequent events. The churches were frequently quite as specific as Winston Churchill with warnings. They have been the source of many of the movements for international justice and good will that have been supported by men and women impelled by Christian convictions. However, the advice of the churches was not heeded.

Perhaps one primary reason why the churches were not taken seriously was that they were too generally assumed to be instruments of national policy, an assumption that has been too frequently warranted by their behavior. It was an uneasy conscience that prompted the leaders of the churches at the Oxford Conference to place such emphasis on the stern exhortation, "Let the church be the church."

Moreover, while they have been preaching harmony to the world, the churches have continued to reproduce in their own life many of the divisions of the world. National, racial, and sectarian frontiers still divide the church, though the ecumenical movement has been making encouraging progress toward mutual understanding and unity of purpose. Denominational rivalries are still in many places a scandal that confuses the world and limits the influence of the church. The church has been saying that the different nations and races and classes should live together as brothers in the family of God, but it has not provided a convincing demonstration of solidarity in its own fellowship. In fact, denominationalism sometimes displays many of the provincial and selfish aspects of nationalism.

It is obvious that we cannot escape the conclusion that there is something wrong with the church as well as with the community in which it is set. We speak here of the church as an historical institution for whose policies and success and failure we human beings have at least a measure of responsibility.

Our analysis of what is wrong with international relations today reveals the inadequacy of any one simple explanation. Human nature is in this case, as in all social problems, a fundamental factor. A complex variety of social and historical factors have contributed to the general demoralization of international conduct in recent years. Economic maladjustments and barriers have complicated the situation. A divided and faltering church has been ill-fitted to deal with a divided world. The political pattern of international society is ethically unsound and is by its very nature conducive to world anarchy.

Christian people have an obligation to understand the deeper meaning of what is happening today and to give the community this deeper insight into the causes of its trouble.

Chapter Three

WHAT IS NEEDED?

If WE have been correct in our diagnosis of what is wrong, we have a reasonable basis for proceeding with our analysis of what is needed. This next step is necessary before we consider the policy and program of the churches in the international situation.

It would be difficult to say whether the world has suffered more during the past twenty years from lack of action or from misguided action. Action for the sake of action is not enough. Sometimes we get "all steamed up" and become very aggressive in support of a specific measure that we are told will correct a bad situation, and then discover that what we have done in good faith, following sincere leaders, has done more harm than good.

We must be very careful not to attribute moral delinquency—cowardice, selfishness—to those who, in the face of an outrageous situation do not go with us in our action. Nor dare we assume that they are any less sensitive to injustice than are we. Our action may be an unconscious compensation for a sense of moral futility. Those whose work is largely in the field of ideas or of technical problems are more likely than some others to defeat their own pur-

poses by misguided action; they are restless unless they can do something, and they will follow the first leader who comes along who shares their concern and appears to be headed in the right direction.

This is not in the least to disparage action, but to emphasize the importance of the choice of action. It is not enough to know what is wrong and to do something about it. It is essential to know *what* to do about it.

Sympathy with the suffering and acquaintance with the sufferer do not in and of themselves guarantee competence to understand either the nature of the ailment or what is needed. The most recent traveler from war areas can witness to the fact of war suffering and can interpret it in such detail as to contribute to an understanding of its nature. Perhaps he can help us to understand its cause in some respects. But his competence to prescribe the remedy depends upon his knowledge of the treatment of ailments in the international situation.

Therefore, before we decide what the church can usefully do toward establishing a healthier world order, we must consider what is needed in the light of what is wrong.

BETTER HUMAN BEINGS.

In our diagnosis we were concerned first with human nature. We can probably agree immediately that the world desperately needs more people who are just, peaceable, honest, intelligent, morally responsible, and compassionate. If there were more such people, undoubtedly there would be less trouble. There would be fewer causes of war. What a difference it would make if all national leaders were such

men! But such men would achieve and maintain national leadership only if there were in their nations more such people.

Name to yourself the men you would like to see in leadership in China, Japan, Russia, Germany, Italy, Britain, and the United States. Even assuming the present organization of the world, we could expect much better times immediately if they were in charge. But we must put a complicating question immediately: How long would their people accept them if they were to be just, generous, and compassionate toward all other nations and peoples? Suppose such a leader voluntarily conceded to another nation, a potential enemy, some considerable economic or political advantage that would temporarily, at least, lower his nation's national income or political influence in power politics—would not the press of his country cry out against "treason" or "appeasement" or "idealism"?

However, it would make an immense difference to have men with courage and a strong sense of social responsibility in leadership. Their influence upon their people would encourage them to go in the right direction and would help to make them better. The point is that it is folly to think of improving the quality of the world's leadership without thinking of improving the quality of the citizenship generally, not only of a particular nation, but of all nations. Our existing institutions would work much better if the people were better. And, on the other hand, no system will work well with bad human material.

Now this problem of human nature, in connection with world order, must be dealt with more specifically. It is not

enough to cultivate the moral virtues of personal relations. Exemplary personal habits do not guarantee socially responsible political behavior. The German pastor who in 1933 was enthusiastic about Herr Hitler's political leadership because "he neither smokes, drinks, nor swears" must have had some sober second thoughts in the light of subsequent developments. (This observation does not imply a moral judgment on Herr Hitler's motives, but it does indicate a moral judgment on some of his political behavior.)

One of our difficulties with human nature is that a man tends to draw a circle around his own and to accept one standard of ethical conduct for his relations with them and another for his relations with those outside the circle. There is admittedly a prior responsibility, in some respects, to those within the circle. A man should make reasonable provision for the support of his own family as a primary obligation. An American citizen owes taxes to his own government as he does not owe them to the government of China. However, he is not justified in resorting to the exploitation of his neighbor or his neighbor's family in order to provide for his own; nor do the obligations of his American citizenship justify him in supporting national policies unfair to China. In other words, a prior responsibility within the circle is not an exclusive responsibility, and it does not constitute grounds for special privileges or rights.

The standards of conduct required for our world have no place for exclusive circles. Standards of Christian conduct have no place for exclusive circles, as we have seen earlier in our consideration of the Christian world-view. The requirements of our religion and the needs of the world

coincide in the demand for men and women who are just, peaceable, honest, intelligent, morally responsible, and compassionate in their attitudes toward, and their dealings with, all people. That means that no circles will be drawn to shut out any people anywhere.

We are concerned here both with selfishness and with provincialism, with the man who knows that he is injuring others and with the man who does not realize what he is doing, either because his conscience is not sensitive or because he does not see the consequences of his action.

The selfish man asserts his right to make all the money he can out of a gold mine in South Africa, regardless of the consequences to the people of South Africa. He insists that he has no responsibility to them. He may regard them as inferior beings not entitled to consideration; or he may hold that he is part of an economic system in which there is no place for sentiment, that if he doesn't do what he does, somebody else will; the law of supply and demand, over which he has no control, will automatically take care of the situation. In his view, those who can make money have the responsibility to do so, regardless of "sentimental" considerations. (I am not by any means assuming that this is a fair characterization of the average man in industry. I have described the selfish man, and there are such.)

Another man may draw circles to limit his ethical responsibility without being aware that he is doing anything wrong. He may be within the generally accepted requirements of prevailing practice. John Newton, the author of one of our hymns, "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds," was a slave-trader before, and for some time after, his

conversion. Doubtless many of the men engaged in the same business were Christians. There were sincere and fervent services of worship on Newton's ship while black men languished in captivity below decks. We have no doubt that if he had lived in our day he would not have been a slave-trader. Some of my own ancestors were slave-holders. They were fully as sincere and earnest Christians as their descendants of this generation, doubtless more strict in certain conventional observances. They drew circles, in conformity with the standards of their day, which kept the Negro beyond the line of equal justice. We still live too much within the narrow circles of social responsibility that prevail in our world. We need more men who will not draw such circles or live within them.

Or a man may be responsible for injustice without being aware of it. This is increasingly the case in our business world of impersonal relationships. Americans in normal times may have drawn large profits from investments in an American firm that had a branch manufacturing plant in China employing child labor for long hours at wages that are a scandal. Yet the individual investor may not even have known that he had any connection with China or Chinese children. He would have been horrified to know how tainted his money was. We need men who are so sensitive to their responsibilities to all people that they will learn what use is being made of the power their investment represents.

Our education concerning the extent of international economic interdependence is helping to enlighten us concerning our involvement in the affairs of other peoples. The

immediate consequence of such education is likely to be an enlightenment of self-interest.

The window exhibit in the local drugstore, showing how many of our standard drugs are imported from many quarters of the earth, increases our sense of dependence, as does the chart showing how much of the material used in making our telephones is imported. This is all to the good.

But to widen the circle of our admitted economic dependence is not necessarily to widen the circle of our conscious ethical responsibility. On the contrary, it may increase our determination to try to make ourselves more independent, either through autarchy—the attempt to devise national economic self-sufficiency—or through attempting to gain control of the sources of what we need. In Germany the fact of dependence has recently been exploited to aggravate a feeling of national resentment rather than to increase international cooperation. This is an inevitable tendency in a world in which there are so many circles defining exclusive national rights and privileges. We in the United States must be alert lest our increasing interest in the other American countries to the south—which is an acknowledged economic interest—lead us to draw circles for our own, rather than for mutual, advantage.

Acquaintance with other peoples and knowledge of our interdependence is, I repeat, useful. But it is not enough. The development of the right attitude remains. The Germans and the Poles have known each other for a long time as neighbors, but they have not developed mutual respect. The English and the Irish have had long and varied associations, but there are still suspicions. The castes have lived

side by side in the same community in India for centuries, but the lines still hold in most places between them. Jew and Gentile, black and white have lived and worked together in our own country, but there is still discrimination on grounds of race. Though distance and strangeness are conducive to indifference, familiarity may breed contempt.

This world needs more people in every country—leaders and average citizens—who have a genuine concern for the welfare of all peoples. In our own country—even in our Christian churches—there are many whose sympathy goes no farther than our national boundaries. As for Europe and Asia—let them “stew in their own juice”; we have plenty of unmet needs in our own country. Such is their attitude. And it would be interesting and instructive to know just how much they are doing about the unmet needs in our own country.

Our illustrations and discussion remind us that it is not only the anti-social conduct of “bad” people but also the apathy of “good” people that concerns us. What is needed is more good people *and* more responsible behavior on the part of the good people. Otherwise human nature will still be too great an obstacle to the development of world order and justice.

MORE ADEQUATE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In our study of what is wrong we concluded that the chaos of the world is to be attributed not only to human nature but also to inadequate political organization; there is a larger measure of order and justice in the average national community—with the same human material—than in the

world community. When the Oxford Conference said that the heart of the political aspect of the present evil is to be found in the claim of each state to be judge of its own cause, it went on to say, "The abandonment of that claim, and the abrogation of absolute national sovereignty, at least to that extent, is a duty that the church should urge upon the nations."¹

The Madras conference of the International Missionary Council said, "An effective system of international organization is necessary to provide peaceful and legal means for political and economic change and to coordinate national policies to meet economic and social problems."²

It is the responsibility of Christians as citizens to pronounce unequivocal judgment on what is morally wrong. If the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty is wrong, Christians have no choice but to say so and to make their political behavior consonant with their moral insight in so far as that is possible. They must call for such changes in the political structure of world society as will make it at least not anti-Christian. The average citizen is not competent to judge as to what precise technical provisions are needed for world government; but he knows—or he should know—the principles in accordance with which life should be politically organized. There are experts who will devise the instruments when the people demand them and are prepared to support them. But the demand and support are

¹ "The Universal Church and the World of Nations" (Study Series), p. 10. New York, Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, 1937.

² *The World Mission of the Church*, p. 116. New York, International Missionary Council, 1939. Used by permission.

still inadequate. Therefore what is most needed is what the average Christian citizen can undertake, namely, the arousing of public opinion.

Before people will support change they usually must be convinced that what prevails at present is not good. There is an element of uncertainty in the new and untried. Frequently it is difficult to jar them out of their complacency. But with regard to international society, events have been persuasive where words and logic failed. Who can say that international relations have been on a satisfactory basis during recent history?

Any American who cannot see what tremendous tragedy is involved in the present system is blind. But we need to realize what is wrong basically with the system of sovereign states. Until the people get this insight there can be no sound building of a new system.

As Christians we must condemn war as an evil; but to attack the problem of war itself and disregard the problem of world political organization is to deal with a symptom and neglect the sources of the infection. As long as nations see no possibility of achieving their destinies or obtaining what they regard to be justice to themselves except by fighting for it, there will be war. To "outlaw" war politically and make no provision for orderly change is futile, for society is dynamic. We cannot at any given time freeze the existing status of international society and say there can be no further change except by mutual agreement. If mutual agreement cannot be achieved, change will come by violent disruption.

This does not mean that nations will undertake war as a

desirable end in itself—that they like war. It means that a people will resort to it if they are convinced that war may achieve for them a necessary end. Therefore, we do not accomplish much by dwelling on the horrors of war. The Western civilized world has long known them by intimate acquaintance. But people will go through anything to achieve a great objective. The more terrible and outrageous the horror, the more sublime the sacrifice if it serves a noble end such as justice. Destruction, suffering, and death are not necessarily tragic in themselves. They are tragic only if they are futile. It is the conviction that war is futile that has been the strongest deterrent to war during the years since the World War.

People ask, Who won the war? We remember the high ideals for which we fought that war. We remember our confidence—as expressed sincerely by President Wilson at the close of the war¹—that German militarism had been overcome and that never again would autocratic force arise to disrupt the peace of the world.

War does change for a time the pattern of international society, and it does satisfy some impulses. The German people today do not like war. They know its cost. Even though their cities were not ravaged in the World War, their fathers, husbands, and sons were killed. And they went through more hell for years after the fighting ceased. Many a German has told me very sincerely and soberly that he hates war and that he despises many things that Hitler does, but that if there is no other way to obtain for the German nation an opportunity to achieve its legitimate

¹ See p. 8.

destiny, then war and Hitler's policies are the lesser evils and necessary to achieve the end of justice.

No one doubts that the English and French people hate war. But they became convinced in 1939 that there was no honorable alternative in the face of armed aggression, which to them constituted destruction of the values of civilization as well as their own empires.

What is needed, therefore, is a dilution of absolute national sovereignty to the point where the state becomes a responsible member of the community of nations—like a state in the United States, for example—serving the general welfare not only of its own citizens but also of the world community, subservient to the requirements of a universal moral law that applies to all peoples, and, finally, acknowledging that it is subject to the will of God. Under such conditions it cannot continue to be a law unto itself, but in its dealing with other states must accept the decision of some political instrument that is responsible to, and exists to serve the interests of, the total community of the children of God.

As we have said before, it is not our function to prescribe the precise way in which this dilution of sovereignty may be best accomplished or the form of the world political organization that should be set up. However, as examples of first steps that should be seriously considered, we suggest that the states "(1) surrender the right to be sole judges of their own causes in international disputes; (2) abandon such offensive armaments as can be used to impose their wills upon other nations, delegating whatever police power is used among nations to a central representative agency; and (3) grant to a world political entity responsibility for the

executive administration of such services as may be required to facilitate equitable change."¹

Even at a time when the possibility of political order seems remote, we must consider what it would involve and prepare to meet the requirements in principle.²

ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT AND PEACEFUL CHANGE

Political world organization would probably, though not necessarily, facilitate economic adjustments. If the instruments of government should fall under the control of several of the most powerful and wealthy nations, they might be used by those nations to consolidate their control of economic resources, just as the government of a nation has sometimes been used by groups to serve their own interests until revolution—civil war—has changed things. Unless political world organization could effectively deal with economic problems it would break down under civil war on a world scale.

There is needed a more equitable distribution of the world's economic resources and a freer access to essential raw materials and to markets for normal peace-time trade, whether this be accomplished through international governmental processes or through conference. Raw materials and markets must be considered together; for frequently the ability of a nation to obtain raw materials is dependent upon its ability to establish purchasing power abroad through the

¹ "The Alternative to International Anarchy," by Roswell P. Barnes *et al.*, p. 10. New York, Foreign Missions Conference, 1938.

² Various suggestions as to what is required will be found in Clarence Streit's *Union Now* (see Reading List) and in the reports of the Committee to Study the Organization of Peace.

sale of its exportable surplus. Therefore tariffs and currency regulations are really a part of the problem of access to raw materials.

There can be no just and durable world order until the nations dilute their economic nationalism as well as their political sovereignty and become socially responsible members of the world community. Neither America nor Japan nor Germany nor Britain can long follow national economic policies that fail to take into account the basic needs of other nations.

The Oxford Conference, after pointing out in the statement already cited that "the unequal distribution of natural bounties is one of the causes of war, if control is used to create a monopoly of national advantages," went on to say, "Christian people should move their governments to abstain from such policies and to provide a reasonable equality of economic opportunity."¹

If there were mutual trust and a sense of common responsibility among the nations, many of the necessary economic adjustments might be effected in international conference without the offices of a political organization; but that would assume a greater willingness to make voluntary concessions of immediate national self-interest than it is reasonable to expect.

Economic change is effected peacefully in the domestic life of the national community by a variety of measures. Free competition must be guarded against monopolies in a democracy. Income and inheritance taxes provide for a con-

¹ *The Message and Decisions of Oxford*, p. 80. New York, Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, 1937.

tinual redistribution of wealth, lest fortunes and economic power continue concentrated too long. The most essential commodities and services may be controlled by the government in the interest of the total community, even if it is necessary to take them out of the hands of private interests by purchase. Time limits are imposed on patent rights so that exclusive rights resulting from discovery and development cannot be held in perpetuity.

No analogous controls exist in the international community. There advantages are assumed to be perpetual unless they change hands through force or voluntary concession as the result of negotiation. If political and military considerations were eliminated, negotiations would be relieved of many of their most embarrassing difficulties. Therefore genuine political order would greatly facilitate the establishing of economic order by normal processes of negotiation. Reciprocal trade agreements, for example, could easily be greatly expanded to the benefit of world order if it were not for political and military factors. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the tariff and trade policies of the late 1920's and early 1930's, which were so disastrous to international order, were adopted at a time when there was comparatively little military and political tension among the nations involved. They were primarily economic measures.

A COMMON ETHOS

Improved human nature and more adequate political world organization will not be enough to establish world order unless we can build a strong substructure of common

principles, ideals, ethical standards, and social practices that will become the norm of conduct among the peoples generally in their international relations. We have analyzed in the previous chapter the disintegration of a former common ethos in the Western world and pointed out the relation of our present lack to the current world chaos. That analysis suggests what is needed.

In line with our foregoing discussion of the moral responsibility of the state, we should remember that there can be no world order unless there is a recognition of universal moral law and of a transcendent sanction of that law. The Oxford Conference said:

A true conception of international order requires a recognition of the fact that the state, whether it admits it or not, is not autonomous, but is under the ultimate governance of God. This relates not only to its dealings with its own citizens but to its dealings with other states and individuals within them. While, therefore, we recognize fully the need for continuous adjustment of international arrangements, we assert that the demand for constancy and fidelity may be made upon states as well as upon individuals. While the trustee responsibility of states differentiates their duty from that of individuals, it remains true that righteousness exalteth a nation and that nations, like individuals, are under the judgment of God.¹

Undoubtedly some states are much closer, at least by profession, to the acceptance of these principles than are others. The Scandinavian countries, the government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in China, Britain, and our own nation, for examples, accept them in theory at least; while the

¹ "The Universal Church and the World of Nations" (Study Series), p. 9.

present Russian and German governments deny some of them, and Japan claims a special divine status for its emperor. As far as the peoples of the nations are concerned, the differences are not so great as are the official government statements. It is doubtful whether there is any pronounced difference between the beliefs of the German people and of the American people as to their respective nations' being under the ultimate governance of God. Moreover, there is not so wide a divergence between the actions of the nations as there is between their declared principles. Nevertheless, the fact remains that official policies influence immediate events and limit the possibility of common understanding in the world today.

Before there can be a durable order in the world, there must be a common understanding of moral responsibility among diverse nations, such as Britain, Germany, Italy, France, and Russia. A member of the House of Commons in England, during a recent Parliamentary debate on the possibility of establishing a federal system for Europe, insisted that it was possible to federate only federable units. "How," he asked, "can you federate a mongoose, an arm-chair, and a toy balloon?" I have no way of knowing whether the honorable gentleman had specific nations in mind or the general incongruity of national policies. It was probably the latter. The analogy is rather extravagant, but arresting and instructive.

Whether or not there is less common ground among the nations of Europe today than there was in 1919, there is now certainly greater diversity of political theory and social ideology.

An added complication arises from the fact that political interests and class loyalties cut across national loyalties more than they did formerly. That is, horizontal lines of cleavage run across national frontiers. For instance, during recent years many a French proletarian believed that his interest lay closer to the communist government of Russia than to the bourgeois government of France; and the British government has found it necessary to arrest Englishmen who have supported national socialism even when their own nation's life was threatened. Along with these horizontal lines there remain the old vertical lines of national cleavage. Between Russia and Britain there exists not only a conflict of national interests, but also a conflict of ideologies. There have been times recently when the conflict of interests might have been resolved if it had not been for mutual contempt and suspicion arising from this latter conflict.

A friend in Geneva who has wide contacts throughout Europe wrote in May, 1940, "It becomes more clear to me every day that the real issue is not in the realm of geographic, economic, and political organization, but in the spiritual realm. The nightmare of the future is that we are likely to find ourselves in a situation in which there is no longer the slightest spiritual, cultural, and moral basis for any kind of agreement. It is to this most difficult question of all that we should give main attention." We should make allowance for the effect of the war on the wording of this statement—"slightest," for example, is probably unwarranted; but the point is inescapable and cannot be emphasized too much.

We Americans must bear these facts in mind when we suggest that our friends across the Atlantic should follow our example and federate. We were generally agreed in our commitment to democracy, and our several states accepted roughly the same concepts of moral responsibility. The situation in Europe today is quite different.

The world needs—desperately needs—common ethical assumptions as to the moral responsibility of the state in international relations.

A MORE WORLD-CONSCIOUS CHURCH

If the Christian church throughout the world permits its own fellowship to be destroyed by the existing conflicts in the community in which it is set, if it is apathetic toward the prevailing suffering, or if it has no wisdom adequate to guide men through their perplexities, it will both fail the world in its hour of tragic need and be disloyal to its own faith and to its divinely appointed task.

There is required today a church that is more concerned about helping a sinful and suffering world than about serving its own institutional interests; a church that can give the world a demonstration in its own life and work of how men of different races, nations, and classes should live together; a church that can exert the united influence of its various branches on the common problems of the nations; a church that will call the nations to acknowledge the governance of God; a church that by its worship, teaching, and service will build the common ethos required by the world community.

The contribution of the church will be discussed in detail in later chapters.

A SENSE OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY

A new political and economic system is needed for the world of nations. But no system operates effectively unless it is operated by responsible men. Some people become so enthusiastic about a particular system that they claim too much for it and neglect to emphasize the cost of it. They are often frustrated people who have found most of life futile and become fanatical about a new cause. T. S. Eliot has said of them in *The Rock*:

They constantly try to escape
From the darkness outside and within
By dreaming of systems so perfect that no one will need to be
good.¹

Morally responsible national behavior rests upon morally responsible personal behavior. We said this earlier in the chapter; but we must say it again. The social conduct of a nation cannot for long rise above or fall below the level of social conduct of its citizenship. So the international influence of a nation is determined by the attitude of its citizens toward international affairs. They must be impelled by standards of success and ideas of community less provincial and selfish than those which generally prevail.

The shoe manufacturer in Connecticut who opposed a reciprocal trade agreement with Czechoslovakia—under which a small quantity of cheap-grade shoes were imported—on the grounds that no shoes should be imported to compete with his industry, lacked a personal sense of social responsibility. The scrap iron merchant who sells to

¹ From *The Rock*, by T. S. Eliot, p. 42. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934. Used by permission.

Japan while she is using his supplies to make war on China cannot call his behavior moral; nor can he justify himself on the grounds that if he doesn't take the business, somebody else will.

The stenographer in Massachusetts, the business man in New York, the housewife in Ohio, the farmer in Iowa, and the school teacher in Oregon should have a feeling of personal responsibility for the welfare of the Germans in Dresden, the English in Liverpool, the Dutch in Amsterdam, the Chinese in Nanking, and the Japanese in Kobe. They have a personal responsibility to be intelligent about American foreign policy and to use their influence to support sound measures of international cooperation. We need to secure a wider reading of books that analyze contemporary world problems; not fighting books to make us angry by showing us how devilish some other people are, but books that help us to understand how this present chaos developed, what its deeper meaning is, and what needs to be done. This need is especially acute in our country because of America's tremendous responsibility for leading in world reconstruction, a responsibility derived from her vastly increased power in relation to other nations.

This is a period that calls for adjustments in personal habits and affairs. During these fateful days many people are going on as usual, reading light fiction only, following the wars in Europe and Asia as they follow the pennant race in the National League and the American League. One minister of a church that should be working through the summer months on foreign relief, a man in good physical and nervous health, recently went away on a two months'

vacation, leaving orders that no mail be forwarded; if it should be forwarded, he said he would not open it. On the other hand, some Americans are foregoing expensive vacations in order to be able to contribute more money for the aid of the victims of war abroad. Others are using their vacations to solicit funds. A few have gone to Europe to work with the American Friends' Service Committee, for example.

There is no escape from personal responsibility. The policies of the churches and of the nations will improve only as we individually and in cooperation improve them.

Chapter Four

THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE AND WORLD ORDER

ON A Saturday morning in June, 1940, a young woman whom we shall call Agnes Brown, who lives on a farm in western Pennsylvania, was in town for the week-end shopping. She paused, as women—especially young women—will, before a window full of hats. It was not that she really expected to buy a hat; she had about half an inclination to buy, because she needed one. Or rather, the one she had—the good one, that is—was rather old and soiled, and it was not especially becoming.

There in the window was one that caught her eye—right style, not too extreme, good color, apparently good material, much like the picture of one her mother had said would look well on her, and for only \$3.85. "If I'm going to get another hat before fall," said Agnes Brown to herself, "this is the one. But I had about made up my mind that I wasn't going to spend any more money on myself than necessary. I don't believe I'd really enjoy it, when that \$3.85 is needed for more important things. Tomorrow is Sunday, and I haven't much for the foreign relief fund."

Next morning Miss Brown was in church in the same hat

she had worn for months and the fund was \$3.85 larger than it would have been if she had appeared in the new hat; over in Sumatra later that summer a twelve year old boy who otherwise would have died from a bad foot infection was all fixed up by a Dutch missionary who had taken over the work of the interned German missionary, and prayers of thanksgiving were offered in churches in Holland and Germany.

Perhaps that story is a bit too short; because Agnes Brown didn't make her sidewalk decision in response to a cabled appeal from the boy in Sumatra and then send her \$3.85 to the missionary. To anyone who is thoroughly familiar with the missionary enterprise the foregoing details are sufficient. However, we should offer a brief explanation.

Technically, the facts are these: The Dutch missionaries who were substituting for the German missionaries working in Sumatra have been shut off from support from home by exchange restrictions against the export of funds. The Germans have been interned because of the war. Through the International Missionary Council the appeal from Sumatra has come to the American churches. This appeal, along with others from various parts of the world for relief in various forms, has been relayed to the local churches. It was there that Agnes Brown heard it. She was already a contributing member of the missionary society in her church. If the American churches did not provide extra help, the missionaries would have to give up their work. Then the people in Sumatra would be without help. If it were not for Miss Brown and others like her, the boy and others like him would die.

In principle, the facts are these: Agnes Brown, because she is a Christian and a member of the church, has a sense of personal responsibility for people everywhere and also institutional channels through which she can help. She has a sense of comradeship with the Dutch missionaries and wants to help share their burdens. She also wants to give the people of Sumatra a better life, especially the joy of knowing Jesus Christ. The people in the churches in Germany and Holland are deeply grateful to know not only that the work of their missionaries is being supported, but also that the church is a fellowship in which those who are able bear the burdens of those who are not able; consequently they pray in gratitude to the God who makes Dutch people, Germans, Americans, and Sumatrans one family. Agnes Brown didn't care about the hat as much as she cared about some other things. That's what happens in the missionary enterprise.

But how does the missionary movement help provide what is needed for the building of a more just and stable world order? Isn't this matter of Agnes Brown's hat and the boy in Sumatra just a pretty, sentimental story without much relevance to the practical needs of the world? These are questions to be kept in mind as we analyze missions in their relation to the problem of world order.

DEMONSTRATING CHRISTIAN WORLD INTEREST

First, consider the impulse behind missions. For the Christian, the most important of all facts is that "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have

everlasting life." The most significant influence in our community life in the Western world has derived from Christ and his life and teaching. Through him life becomes victorious: harassing fears are overcome; degrading social customs are challenged and abolished. Not all of our life has been brought under him, by any means. But there are many people, especially in other parts of the world, who do not even know of him.

The Christian is disturbed by this fact, because he believes that God is their Father as well as his, that God wills their welfare quite as much as his, that Christ commanded those who follow him to proclaim to all people in every nation the good news that they are the children of one Creator of all, who loves all and calls them to himself through the Son who loved all and suffered for all. The Christian feels related to them because he is related to God and they are related to God. Therefore he is impelled to go to them or to share in the support of someone else who goes.

The impulse behind the missionary movement is the inevitable result of our fundamental belief concerning God and his relation to the world. It is not an incidental or optional interest of the Christian. The movement, therefore, is an integral part of the Christian enterprise, not a marginal cause.

In recognition of this fact some local churches have unified, or at least coordinated, their work for missions, the ecumenical movement, and international justice and good will. They are all different aspects of the world outreach of the church. Many church members are interested in all three movements. Some churches have been building up

libraries with materials on all three subjects woven in together. These libraries provide resource material for church school teachers, young people's leaders, and program chairmen of various organizations as well as the material needed by study groups and societies. Some churches have been organizing committees that include in their membership those who are interested in the various phases of the world outreach of the church: one will be primarily interested in missions; another in the ecumenical movement; another in relief overseas; another in international political organization. The committee may be consulted by the pastor as he arranges special services.

This new integration of the various aspects of the church's interest in the world abroad helps to maintain perspective and balance in the programs of various groups within the church. It tends to remind the people who are primarily interested in the peace problem that they dare not neglect spiritual factors. It tends to remind those who are primarily interested in world evangelism that they have a responsibility for political problems; and it reminds both of these groups that the effectiveness of their work depends in part upon a more effective cooperation among the churches through the ecumenical movement.

On the national scale there has been during recent years an increasingly close cooperation between the missionary movement and the other activities of the church with relation to world problems. For example, in the study conference on "The Churches and the International Situation," held at Philadelphia in February, 1940, under the auspices of the Department of International Justice and

Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, one of the most important sections was that on the contribution of the missionary enterprise. This section was planned cooperatively by the Foreign Missions Conference and the Federal Council of Churches. These two agencies have also constituted jointly the Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals in the Churches. This has effected a thoroughgoing coordination of the interests of the churches with regard to relief abroad, including the support of stranded missionaries shut off from home base support, relief in China, service to prisoners of war in Europe, along with other enterprises for which the churches have a responsibility.

In the international field the International Missionary Council is working in closest collaboration with the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches (in Process of Formation). One of the secretaries of the International Missionary Council, the Reverend William Paton, of London, is also an associate secretary of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches. A joint committee of the two councils facilitates cooperation.

This missionary impulse drove the early followers of Christ across all the frontiers of their day, into the then-known world. Had it not been so, Christianity would probably have been only a sect of Judaism, and there is no telling what kind of semi-sophisticated barbarians we of the European lineage would be. No matter how thin and diluted the stream of genuinely Christian influence may seem to be in Europe and America today, we know that the best values of our Western culture have been the result of an

early Christian missionary movement that crossed the barriers of race and nation and class.

When we understand the nature of the impulse, we can comprehend its effect upon the sending group in the movement. We must consider what the movement does both to the boy in Sumatra and to Agnes Brown. Now she is already, by virtue of this impulse and the faith from which it derives, one whose selfishness is disciplined and whose sense of personal responsibility for the whole family of God is highly developed. Consequently, in her case the problem of human nature is pretty largely solved, in so far as her wider social attitudes are concerned.

Contributing to foreign missions is not in itself necessarily proof that one's wider social attitudes are Christian. There are some "moral imperialists" who in spiritual arrogance and condescension satisfy their own pride—usually unconsciously—by giving money for "the heathen." Such giving, incidentally, will also help to give good and respectable standing among a certain element in the home community. But this motive is not characteristic of the missionary enterprise. It is mentioned in order to point out that impulses may vary even in the best of work and that there are no simple and complete solutions of the problem of human nature. Agnes Brown is more characteristic of the quality of interest in the home base support of missions. The local or national church that has a strong interest in missions is usually a church that recognizes a responsibility for the general welfare of other peoples. It is likely to be a spiritually healthy church, also.

We are more accustomed to evaluating missions by what

they do for those on the "receiving end of the line"—the boy in Sumatra and the others in his village. A summary is sufficient here. There can be no doubt that they become much better citizens of their own village and of the world community in so far as the problem of human nature is concerned. The evangelistic work of the missionary makes them more sensitive and generous with regard to the needs of others. Education contributes to a better understanding of the problems of the world. Improved sanitation and hygiene, hospitals and public health service, agricultural and industrial methods, lead to better health and living standards. The value of human life is enhanced generally—baby girls are cared for, feet are unbound, women emancipated, polygamy, slavery, witchcraft and other degrading customs abandoned, as the Christian influence spreads. They learn to understand, and to take pride in, the best aspects of their own cultural heritage.

Perhaps the very existence of the missionary enterprise is more productive of improved attitudes than any particular feature of the work itself, although the two cannot be separated. The fact that American youth choose to leave the normal relationships and securities of life—home community, family associations, their own race, their own country, the comforts of a higher standard of living—to give their lives to help a strange people of another race and language, in a distant land, under hazards of disease and hardship, is impressive. Why do they do it? Not for personal gain. Not for public honor. Not because their government drafts them. It is a free choice, resulting from what they regard to be the call of their God and from a

profound concern that other children of the common Father shall be freed from their darkness and frustration and brought into the light and joy of a new life. The fact of such a fine and joyous giving of life is eloquent evidence of a power that arrests and challenges people. The fears and hopes of the human heart are fundamentally the same everywhere. Therefore, there is a universal understanding, of generosity and kindness which ask no reward. This is why we emphasize the very fact of missions as productive of improved attitudes.

Regardless of risk and the complexity of relationships, missionaries go where they think they are needed most. This fact has made a deep impression upon both the Chinese people and the Japanese military forces in China during recent years. The courage and resourcefulness of the missionaries have been as surprising as their motive has been challenging. When, in 1937 and on various other occasions in the past, because of various "uncertainties" the American government officials advised or at least encouraged them to withdraw from certain areas, they remained, casting their lot—for better, for worse—with the people to whom they had given their lives.

One cannot think of a more difficult or strategic place to work out a Christian pattern and spirit of human relationships than in the no-man's-land between Japanese-penetrated territory and free territory, where Japanese troops come by day and the guerillas by night, where the people are caught—harassed if they do and shot if they don't—where expediency and principle are confused, and where loyalties conflict. But there the missionary is at work, test-

ing out a way of life under trial by fire. On the plains beyond Peiping he is working his way through dilemmas and hardships that may be the lot of Christians on many another plain and in many cities of the world in years to come.

DEVELOPING WORLD SOLIDARITY

In our analysis of what is needed by way of political world organization, we found that national selfishness and the morally irresponsible doctrine of absolute national sovereignty are among the crucial difficulties. Here the missionary movement can make an invaluable contribution to world order. The missionary lives and works under the jurisdiction of two political states—the state of which he is a subject or citizen and the state in which he works. He owes his political allegiance to the first; he is giving his life to the people of the second. Because of this twofold devotion and loyalty, he sees the mutuality of interest and responsibility between the two states. He sees it to be both unethical and impractical for either to act solely in its own interest.

The missionary sees people primarily as children of God, members of a world-wide family; only secondarily does he see them as nationals—Japanese, Indians, or Persians. There are for him no “lesser breeds without the law.” The fact of the separate political jurisdictions among men becomes for him a relatively less important fact than for one who lacks his experience and his wider sense of responsibility.

Consider our story of Agnes Brown: The missionary

movement as an international organization made it possible for Americans, Germans, Dutch, and Sumatrans to work together as a mutually dependent community. Here was a group of human beings: one was suffering; another was professionally competent to help; a third had the money to enable the second to do his work. Different branches of the church were involved; but in this case the sense of the one universal Church triumphed over the sense of denomination, and national interest was subordinated to the general human welfare. The political states complicated the situation; in fact, they created a problem by becoming involved in war. In this instance, where the political world order broke down, the world order of the Church still functioned by adjusting itself and shifting burdens among the various churches.

The response of the churches to the call for support of the stranded missions shut off from home aid by the war has been an impressive demonstration of the world-wide solidarity of the enterprise. An appeal was broadcast through the British Broadcasting Company on July 28, 1940, for assistance for Scandinavian missions. Even then, when Britain was being harassed by bombing from the air, the response was over four thousand pounds, and that was in addition to substantial help that had already been given since the beginning of the war by cash grants, by the employment of stranded missionaries, and in other ways. South Africa, India, China, and Syria have helped. In the United States during the first winter of the war the Lutheran churches gave more than \$225,000 for stranded Lutheran missions and then started a campaign for an

additional \$500,000. Other American churches have also been helping substantially in the way Miss Brown of our story helped.

One interpretation of the spirit behind this demonstration of Christian solidarity appeared in the September, 1940, number of *Missions*, a Baptist periodical, which presented the appeal of that communion for a large world relief fund over and above the regular missionary budget:

Today the world storm furiously lashes many of the lands from which delegates had come to Madras. Homes are broken. Lives are shattered. . . . What of our fellowship in Christ now? The answer is as clear as crystal. Those who suffer and wander bereft are still our Christian brothers. We who have taken the name of Christ have the opportunity of the ages to demonstrate our oneness in him.

The president of the Synod of the Reformed Church in America in a recent appeal for funds for stranded missionaries and others in need abroad said: "Let ours be the will to do more than we thought we were able to do. If it means for us all the glad accepting of a lower material standard of living that other Christians may be succored, let it be so."

Missionaries may influence the leaders and others in their own governments and those under whose jurisdiction they live by advocating governmental policies that would be conducive to mutual respect. In this way they lay foundations for political world order, for they point out the desirability of making some concessions of national interest with respect to international dealings. For example, they generally request their governments not to intervene with

military power of coercion in disputes between missions and the people or governments with which they are involved. The International Missionary Council, meeting at Jerusalem in 1928, took the following action:

Inasmuch as missionaries, both as individuals and in groups, and several missionary societies, have asked that steps be taken to make plain that they do not depend upon or desire protection of foreign military forces in the country of their residence; and

Inasmuch as the use or the threat of the armed forces of the country from which they come for the protection of the missionary and missionary property not only creates widespread misunderstanding as to the underlying nature of missionary work, but also greatly hinders the acceptance of the Christian message;

The International Missionary Council places on record its conviction that the protection of missionaries should only be by such methods as will promote good will in personal and official relations, and urges upon all missionary societies that they should make no claims on their governments for the armed defense of their missionaries and their property.¹

Numerous missionary societies and individuals have been acting in accordance with this policy. By so doing, the church challenges the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty at the point where it judges its own case and always holds in the immediate or distant background the threat of its armed forces. This tension between church policy and state policy constitutes an influence toward the dilution of national sovereignty and the establishing of a world political organization.

It is not always possible for missionaries to be as independent of the home government as their consciences would

¹ *The World Mission of Christianity*, p. 74. New York, International Missionary Council, 1928. Used by permission.

prompt them to be. Sometimes they are considerably embarrassed. In 1923; a group of twenty-four American missionaries in China requested the American ambassador that no foreign military force be exerted to protect their lives and property and that, in case of their capture or death at the hands of lawless persons, there should be no punitive expedition or indemnity. The American minister answered, "American citizens in China must be protected in accordance with the treaties, and the government knows no distinction between missionaries and other citizens." Here again we must remember the limitations imposed upon governments by their own legal obligations.

Closely related to the building of more adequate political organization is the creation of a common ethos, as we have seen in earlier chapters. Here the missionary movement makes a more direct contribution.

Missionaries live out the idea of the world community. They are actually building a world fellowship that rests upon common understandings, loyalties, ideals, and mutual responsibilities. As a result of the missionary movement, the last one hundred and fifty years have been the period of the greatest expansion of Christianity in all its history.

With the knowledge that the various peoples acquire concerning each other, goes understanding. Familiarity, as we have seen, is not enough; but sympathetic understanding and appreciative interpretation increase mutual respect, especially when common problems and hopes become apparent. The American missionary interprets his country to the people among whom he works and in turn interprets them to us. He does this by his stories and pictures, but

even more by indicating to us his affection and respect for these people of another land and by showing them in his life what some Americans are like.

NURTURING A SENSE OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

This brings us to a delicate and embarrassing point. We have just said that the missionary shows abroad what some Americans are like. Unfortunately, there have been times when other Americans, as well as nationals from European countries that send missionaries, have created impressions quite at variance with that made by the missionary. Even some missionaries fall below the standards of their calling. This is embarrassing. Some white men in Africa, representing foreign mining interests, have taken natives from their villages and put them into degrading mining camps, where they have exploited the Africans mercilessly and allowed them to degenerate physically and morally without seeming to have any sense of moral responsibility for them. They tear down where the missionary tries to build up.

The native people themselves are confused by such practices. They raise questions that are difficult to answer: What is the relation between the missionary and his fellow-countryman? If the mine manager has known about the religion of Jesus all his life, why does he act as he does? Or does this religion make some men powerful to take things for themselves while it makes others skillful to give health and knowledge? Is the missionary here to win our confidence in the foreigner so that we may be exploited more easily? There have been instances when the missionary enterprise has been practically an adjunct to imperialism.

But those days are past, except, perhaps, for isolated cases of abuse that might still be found.

We do not mean to imply that missionaries are the only ones who stand for justice and brotherhood. Wherever Miss Mina Soga—the African member of the post-Madras team that visited America—spoke in America she paid tribute to two great white women who stood for everything fine and Christian to her people. One was a missionary in Johannesburg; the other was a British woman who devotes her life to improving the status of the ten million black people in regard to legislation, health, and education. These two women were equally, in Miss Soga's mind, interpreters of Christian internationalism, leavening the life of South Africa.

In one of India's well known Christian institutions, the Christa-Kula Ashram in Tirupatur, Dr. E. Forrester-Paton and Dr. S. Jesudasan live and work together in complete brotherhood. The former is British, with advanced training in medicine and high standing at home; the latter an Indian doctor equally well educated and equally distinguished. They live a monastic type of life, surrounded by a group of young men, demonstrating Christian community. Dr. Forrester-Paton has adopted Indian life and dress, the more completely to adjust himself to India and to break down barriers to understanding.

Miss Ruth Seabury reports that, when speaking to university students in India, one young man identified Christianity with bad Western practices. An Indian woman, Lady Raman of Mysore, rose in the audience and said: "Young man, I am ashamed of you. You are being discourteous and

you are also being unfair. Do you see Indian people of the high caste, all of them, taking care of outcastes? Who is starting all the movements for helping the depressed classes of India? We all know that there are all kinds of people in every religious group, but the first call I ever received to do something for India's unfortunate ones came to me by watching men and women of compassion from this woman's land and from various parts of Europe."

Frequently a flagrant contradiction between commercial exploitation and missionary helpfulness is made the occasion for educating the people back home and serving the people in the mission field. The late C. F. Andrews reported such instances in his life of John White, a British missionary to Africa. John White found appalling conditions in the mines in Southern Rhodesia—disease, drunkenness, immorality, and vice. Mr. Andrews quoted the following comment from the missionary:

Has the Christian church nothing to say to these evils? Must we simply look on and hold our peace? Can we do nothing to stop the flood of all this misery and sin? Surely, just as we build churches and halls to meet the growing needs of the European population, which has problems of its own equally grave, so, in the same manner, we ought to provide religious and social ministrations for the tens of thousands of the African people who come from the kraals. . . . Our insatiable love of money, which is the root of all evil, has brought them into this most undesirable condition. *We cannot stand by with folded arms and watch them going to moral ruin!*¹

And John White did not stand by, but gave publicity to

¹ C. F. Andrews, *John White of Mashonaland*, p. 101. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1935. Used by permission.

the conditions and organized protests until the government administrations put a stop to the worst exploitation, and the mining companies, which at first had been antagonistic to the missionaries, came to have respect for them and to cooperate with them. Thus the missionary enterprise has at many points mitigated if it has not corrected the worst features of imperialism.

EXCHANGING VALUES AND INSIGHTS

But we betray an inadequate knowledge of this movement if we think of it too largely in terms of sending missionaries to the backward and non-Christian. In many countries to which missionaries still go from the West there are now indigenous churches under the direction of the people of those countries. Many of the leaders of these churches have been educated in the universities and graduate schools of the West. They are leaders in the life of their own people. They understand their own traditions as well as their national problems from the inside. Therefore, there is now much more mutuality in the relation between the older and the younger churches than has hitherto existed.

In consequence of this development, the missionary movement can render a much more significant service to the world by way of developing a common ethos for international life than it could in its earlier days, when it was, much more than it is today, a projection of something that was regarded as belonging to the West. There is a constant interchange of views and experiences. Japanese, Chinese, Indian, African, German, Dutch, British, and American

Christian leaders have been visiting one another, corresponding and conferring concerning their common problems. Following the Madras conference in the winter of 1938-39, teams of speakers from many countries traveled throughout the United States reporting the conference and discussing the rôle of the Church in the world crisis. Many thousands of Americans were inspired by them and instructed by them.

Mina Soga, for instance, a princess among her own people, with a heart so big that it reaches out and enfolds all people, is as obviously open and honest as the sun on a bright October day. I happened upon her late one night in the summer of 1939 waiting for a train in the station on the German side at Basel en route to Amsterdam to the World Conference of Christian Youth. A person, I thought to myself, with her radiance of good will and inner confidence could travel to the four corners of the earth alone, without fear. Turn loose upon the world a few more people like Mina Soga for a couple of years and you would so increase the understanding and acceptance of common principles that almost any kind of league or federation would work.

Or take another member of the post-Madras teams, Dr. Hachiro Yuasa, former president of Doshisha University in Japan, by training an entomologist, but by either instinct or discipline a statesman of the church. By his direct insight into the heart of things, he can see the principles underlying policies. Such men, who understand the motives of the East and of the West, are building bridges, not for commerce of goods but for commerce of ideas and

understanding—bridges that make for community of principle, the prerequisite for political world order. And the Dr. Yuassas are part of the missionary movement.

The world mission of Christianity is not an enterprise of the West. One of the most helpful men serving on the National Preaching Mission in the United States, as well as on our University Christian Mission, has been Dr. T. Z. Koo of China. When he talks to us, we realize that there are insights coming out of the East without which the church cannot be complete. We could extend the list with many who have made outstanding contributions to our Christian life and understanding: Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan, Bishop Azariyah of India, D. T. Niles of Ceylon, Miss Yi-fang Wu of China, and others. We realize, further, that such men and women as these, shuttling back and forth between different peoples, are influencing public opinion and thus, indirectly, national policy in the direction of mutual responsibility.

EXTENDING THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN SERVICE

Scientific knowledge is something that belongs to humanity, in spite of attempts to nationalize it. It may serve us or destroy us, according to our application of it. The missionary enterprise makes the values of science available to the peoples for their welfare. The Agricultural Missions Foundation, operating through missionaries and on funds provided by the boards, is showing the way of cooperation by promoting exchange of experience in improving the productivity of the land and the type of livestock raised. The Christian Medical Council for Overseas Service is

assisting medical missionaries to make available to all nations the best scientific methods for eradicating or overcoming the effects of endemic disease, malaria, hookworm and other common ailments that undermine the health of a nation. It also cooperates with government agencies in the fight against narcotic drugs. Missionaries have led the way across the language barriers. They have not only contributed to cultural exchange but have also devised simplified processes for education in reading and writing among people where illiteracy prevails. It is a missionary to the Philippines, Frank Laubach, who has made the outstanding contribution in this field.

From these examples we see how far-reaching is the missionary's contribution to general human welfare around the earth. Given in good will and not for profit, this service establishes bonds of mutual respect and appreciation.

The survey could be extended; but have we not justified the statement that the missionary is the first citizen of the new world order and the chief agent of that integration which must be the foundation of political world organization?

Professor Henry P. Van Dusen, who made an extensive six months' tour of missions prior to the Madras conference, started upon his journey with some rather grave misgivings about the missionary enterprise. However, after seeing the enterprise around the world, he wrote in a significant and interesting book, *For the Healing of the Nations*:

The Christian church is not a political instrument to pit its strength against secular powers bent on conquest or retaliation with the only weapons secular might recognizes. In God's inten-

tion, it never will be. The forces it sets loose and the channels of their operation are too subtle in the calculus of empire; their alchemy works too slowly and too silently to halt dictators or assure immediate triumph of right.

Are they, then, of no consequence? What is most needed for the realization of that fairer society of nations for which, even in this hour of holocaust, men still yearn? Surely two things preeminently: the raising up into leadership in the nations of men and women deeply committed to the achievement of world peace even at the price of national sacrifice, and the creation of a structure of international life to express and conserve the community of nations. The first of these the Christian church is doing day in and day out; indeed it is the only agency raising up world-minded leadership throughout the world. The second seems almost beyond the possibility of action. Yet, even now, as an earnest of its possibility and foretaste of its reality, there stands one world community drawn out of all the nations.¹

Perhaps most important of all, the missionary movement has made the church in fact, as well as in principle, ecumenical—coextensive with the family of God on the habitable globe. It stands as a demonstration of the universality of the world-view of Christianity. In many countries it has won only a comparatively small number of adherents—a minority of the people; but it is there, in most cases exerting an influence far beyond its numbers. Indeed, Christianity can be said to be firmly established through some of the younger churches. This is of tremendous significance, because it means that, as Professor Walter Marshall Horton has pointed out, "the fate of Christianity is no longer bound up with the fate of Western

¹ *For the Healing of the Nations*, by Henry P. Van Dusen, pp. 195-96. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. Used by permission.

civilization." Professor Horton adds the further observation that

... a new world force has been released, for the healing of the nations. It is conceivable that the younger churches with their apostolic zeal may first help to rechristen the older churches, and then—together with the older churches—hold our shaken world together as the early church held the Roman world together in its hour of trial.¹

The task of expansion is, however, only well begun. Only as Christianity is planted firmly in every important people the world around can we have a real ecumenical movement. If the ecumenical movement in its broadest sense is one of the greatest grounds for hope in a discouraged world, the missionary enterprise is absolutely essential to it; for only through the latter can the younger churches be increased in strength.

¹ *Can Christianity Save Civilization?*, by Walter Marshall Horton, p. 209. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1940. Used by permission.

Chapter Five

THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT AND WORLD ORDER

A THRILLING chapter in the history of the Christian church is being written today. At the very moment in history when our world is disintegrating politically, the Christian church is reintegrating. While differences of race, nationality, and class give rise to increasingly disastrous conflicts in the political world, those differences and the differences of sect are becoming less divisive in the church. Two sets of forces are set over against each other in a conflict that may in large measure determine the fate of a civilization.

Consider recent experience with conferences: the Disarmament Conference of 1932 in Geneva and the London Economic Conference of 1933, on the one hand, and the Stockholm, Lausanne, Oxford, Edinburgh, Madras, and Amsterdam conferences,¹ on the other. Failure on the one

¹ Attendance at these conferences was as follows:
Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm, 1925:
547 from 38 countries
World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne, 1927: 537 from 26
countries
World Conference on Church, Community and State, Oxford, 1937:
853 from 45 countries

hand contributed to the demoralization of the international political community; success on the other contributed to the revitalization of the international Christian community. Politically the nations come to have less and less in common; religiously they come to have more and more in common. Men left London in despair; they left Oxford with new hope.

These conferences reflected what was happening in the attempts to achieve cooperation and harmony in two areas of international relations. The movement for political co-operation centered in the League of Nations, the World Court, the International Labor Office; that for religious cooperation in the Faith and Order and the Life and Work movements, the International Missionary Council, and other ecumenical organizations. While one set of agencies has become increasingly futile, the other has become increasingly effective. While the influence of the League of Nations on the policies of national governments has decreased, the influence of the ecumenical movement on the policies of national churches has increased.

The most notable recent organizational expression of the ecumenical movement is the progress made toward the setting up of the World Council of Churches. The Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches (in Process of Formation) has taken over on request the work

World Conference on Faith and Order, Edinburgh, 1937: 504 from
50 countries

Meeting of the International Missionary Council, Madras, 1938: 471
from 69 countries

World Christian Youth Conference, Amsterdam, 1939: 2,200 from
67 countries

and the staff of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work. The headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland. The Archbishop of York is chairman; Dr. Marc Boegner, Archbishop S. Germanos, and Dr. John R. Mott are vice-chairmen. The general secretary in Geneva is Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, and the associate secretaries are Dr. William Paton, in London, and in New York, Dr. Henry Smith Leiper. Dr. Adolf Keller of Geneva is consultant. At the end of 1940, seventy church bodies had accepted membership in the Council.

During the winter of 1938-39 groups of citizens, churchmen and others, in various countries, urged their respective governments to initiate conference procedures lest the grave tensions between nations degenerate into war and chaos. In the United States on November 17, 1938, the Federal Council of Churches sent a letter to President Roosevelt, signed by the heads of twenty-one communions, which included the following paragraph:

We, therefore, respectfully urge you to collaborate with the heads of other states to the end that there may be convened at the earliest possible moment a world conference designed to achieve these objectives. We are aware of the difficulties which stand in the way. We are convinced, however, that these difficulties can and will be overcome if the leaders of our own and other countries will but implement the known desire for peace which exists among all peoples.

But the governments accepted the situation as an impasse and the conference method was abandoned. Judgments may differ as to whether conference by governments would have been helpful. In the light of subsequent developments it is

difficult to see how the course of events could have been made worse by conference than it has been. The fact remains that there was no conference.

At the same time that governments abandoned conference, the churches, under the auspices of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, organized an international consultation, and in July, 1939, convened in Geneva a group drawn from most of those countries that should have been represented in a conference set up by governments. There was no one directly from Russia; but there were Germans, along with British and French—altogether nationals of eleven countries. Among them were laymen who had represented their governments in international conferences, men experienced and competent in practical affairs. The group reached agreement on questions of the utmost importance in the international situation. Its message has been studied in many countries, in government as well as in church circles, and is frequently quoted in this book.

We cannot assume that a similar conference called by governments could have accomplished the same things. The very same men and women, meeting under official governmental auspices, might not have behaved in the same way. This does not mean that they would not have said the same things. Probably every person would have been willing to have all his words at the church conference quoted back home. But there were wide divergences of judgment on crucial issues. It was not easy to maintain fellowship. There were times of discouragement. At such times these same people, if they had been on governmental business,

might have quit. But since they were meeting under church auspices they felt under heavier compulsion to carry through. They felt that as Christians they did not dare accept defeat in the effort to achieve understanding and some agreement. It is possible that the sense of terrific urgency that permeated the group might have driven them to success under other auspices, but it is doubtful. Our conjecture is inconclusive except to indicate how nationalism complicates relationships in the political field and is *per se* one of the chief problems.

The important fact is that the churches did keep lines of communication open where governments did not. They did achieve agreements when governments accepted differences as insurmountable.

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP IN WAR TIME

Again in the midst of the war (January 5 to 8, 1940) churchmen got together to carry on the ecumenical work of the churches. The Provisional Administrative Committee of the World Council of Churches met at the Hotel Zilven near Apeldoorn in Holland. Seventeen men, including all the European officers of the Provisional Committee, from ten countries, met together to plan for the continuance and development of the ecumenical work in war time and to consider what guidance could be given to the churches by way of interpreting the moral meaning of the war.

This kind of thing did not happen in the midst of the World War of 1914-18. There was not at that time an ecumenical movement in anything like the same sense as

it existed in January, 1940. Nor was there the same sense of compulsion among the churches to maintain fellowship in spite of war.

The group meeting in Holland could not reach agreement on the advisability of issuing a statement concerning the moral significance of the war. This was a disappointment to some who had hoped that there might be a statement for the non-Roman churches that would be comparable in its significance to the pronouncements of the Pope for the Roman church. Two arguments prevailed against issuing such a statement: first, the World Council of Churches did not yet exist, and will not exist until there is a constituting assembly; and, second, the Provisional Administrative Committee was not sufficiently representative—the German churches were not represented except unofficially and indirectly, and from the Allied side there were six representatives, including the Archbishop of York as chairman of the Provisional Committee and Dr. Marc Boegner, president of the Protestant Church Federation of France, as chairman of the Provisional Administrative Committee. The group was therefore not actually competent to speak for non-Roman Christianity.

Furthermore, the group could not reach agreement as to what should be said. There were wide differences of judgment concerning the causes and the nature of the war. It was significant that the divisions did not follow national or ecclesiastical lines. The British did not stand as a block against the neutrals; the neutrals did not have a common judgment among themselves. Lutherans differed among themselves; likewise Anglicans and Calvinists.

The debates were earnest but not heated; frank but not purposely irritating. Through them all ran a confidence of Christian comradeship bridging all differences. Fellowship was not maintained by detouring around the most difficult and controversial issues; embarrassing questions were not evaded. Here was a demonstration of how Christians can work together as the family of God even in war time.

To understand that meeting is to understand the deeper meaning of the ecumenical movement. What happened there had happened at Oxford in 1937. It cannot be explained in terms of human wisdom or courage or tolerance. It cannot be explained adequately except as a manifestation of the Spirit of God at work in a group. Those who were at Oxford knew that something happened there beyond what had been expected. They came away to testify that the true ecumenical movement was of God's making more than of man's making.

Perhaps this fresh evidence of the power of God in the church is to be accounted for partly as God's answer to man's humility. During the comfortable days of seeming prosperity and security for the church we were rather confident in our own resources and capacities. We prayed, to be sure, but not in much agony of spirit or deep humility. Today, with established institutions crashing down about our heads, each night bringing new horrors and each day new destruction, the world is too much for us. God does things with a humble church which he does not do with a complacent church.

The experience of Oxford gave rise to a new confidence in the church based upon the reassurance that God works

in it. In Holland, in January of 1940, the church leaders were bound together in fellowship by a Power not their own. Herein lies the hope in the ecumenical movement. As I went from the Holland meeting into Germany and into France I found earnestness, humility, and a resolute determination to maintain the fellowship of the family of God. Foundations are being built for a more brotherly world community.

The same kind of thing had happened at the World Christian Youth Conference at Amsterdam in August of 1939. There was something more poignant in the fellowship of youth on the eve of war than in the fellowship of the older generation. Life lies before them—or death. Insecurity means for them probably frustration of some of life's basic purposes: study, marriage and home, scientific discovery, artistic creation, career. Will the world of tomorrow be one in which they will have even a reasonable chance to realize hopes?

Never have I been more deeply stirred by the dramatic pathos of a situation than I was at Amsterdam, looking down from the balcony of the Concert House on the Christian youth from sixty-seven countries singing together hymns of comradeship. Chinese and Japanese were already at war. Others assumed that they would be at war shortly, perhaps before the conference ended. But there they were, shoulder to shoulder, mind to mind, heart to heart. They did not fully understand each other; but they knew that in their highest loyalties they were agreed, that basically they saw life the same in terms of its purposes and destiny. Some of them had become personal friends.

In common worship, study, and discussion they had just learned anew the meaning and the possibilities of Christian comradeship.

My soliloquy as I watched these young people is still vivid: "And tomorrow? Tomorrow that right hand of the lad on the end of the third row holding the hymn book along with the lad at his side may pull the trigger or release the bomb or throw the hand grenade that will blow that other hand to pieces and scatter death. Today God makes those lads brothers. Tomorrow man's sin and folly may make them enemies. Today in the Church they bind the world together in understanding. Tomorrow in the war of states they will tear the world to pieces in hostility."

In the dark hours of agonizing struggle in the individual soul and in the nightmare of the present international chaos, the drama of the conflict of antagonistic tendencies and impulses goes on. There is disintegration in the realm of man's will and there is integration in the realm of God's will. In this historic drama the fellowship of the ecumenical movement is a force for holding the world together through the Church and for binding individuals closer to God and to one another.

Many have taken heart from a letter written by a well known German missionary leader to Dr. William Paton of England shortly after the outbreak of war between their countries:

I feel bound to write to you a few lines facing the unspeakable catastrophe which has come upon us by this new war. Nobody of us can realise what this word means, especially for the world mission. Madras nine months ago is like a bright star

of God's promise, a sign-post of the communion and fellowship of all Christian churches in the world. But now darkness has come upon us, and nobody knows when the holy but terrible will of God will be changed again into mercy and love. Oh, our mission work, our dear and beloved mission work!

With these lines I have to say farewell to you. We have to expect to be called for military service. What this means for men like ourselves, who were blessed in these years by friendship and trust, by fellowship and love of Christians all over the world, cannot be expressed in human words. . . .

And now we have to go the way into darkness. We are not alone on this way. Jesus Christ is being with us. And if the day comes when the light of God and his mercy will shine again upon our peoples and churches, then remember, my dear friend, if I am still alive, that there is a friend of yours in whose heart the spiritual heritage of thirteen years of missionary work does not fade away, then remember your very thankful friend who will be ready for all the work for God after this time of great temptation. I shall remain a man of the Christian mission in spite of all that will come upon us during the following years. . . . The Lord may lead us on his way and protect us in his grace.¹

DIFFERENCES WITHOUT ESTRANGEMENT

Differences of language, custom, tradition are transcended in the world fellowship of the Church. One afternoon at the Oxford Conference the Orthodox choir from the Russian Academy in Paris sang a vespers service in their own language in old St. Mary's Church as a contribution to the worship of the conference. Those of us who attended the service were provided with translations of the words, which

¹ Quoted in *The Hour and Its Need*, by William Paton, pp. 21-22. London, Edinburgh House Press, 1939.

made it possible to follow without too much distraction the scripture passages. But after comprehending the general sequence few followed the order of service by reading closely. We were caught in the mood and spirit of the music, which released impulses of the soul to which words cannot give wings. It was Russian music, and yet it was mine. The setting and the forms were alien, but the motive was familiar, even to one accustomed to informal services in sanctuaries with little symbolism and no imagery. Here was an instrument of worship that was at the same time an instrument of fellowship. A Russian and I could look into each other's faces and, feeling a common exaltation of spirit, know that we had been together as brothers in the presence of the Father.

The universality of Christian fellowship in that worship service was poetically expressed by an American Quaker. I had sat by him during the service. His background and habit of worship were as far removed from the Russian Orthodox as any in the Christian Church. How could he, accustomed to the austere simplicity of the Meeting House, without ritual, enter into this extremely ritualistic and formal service? Deeply moved, we left the church in silence. On the street he remarked, "Somewhere, somehow, in some previous incarnation I must have heard that before." Of course, he was not implying that he believed in reincarnation. He was saying beautifully that it was not strange to him, but so universal as to be native to his own inmost soul. And he was an American Quaker, dean of a theological school!

With this incident we might point out again that the

ecumenical movement does not strive for order through uniformity, but through harmony with diversity. The order it is promoting is the foundation, not for a cosmopolitan world order, but for an interracial and international order—conceiving of the “nation” as a cultural group, not necessarily a political state.

In addition to the conferences and meetings already described in some detail, Edinburgh and Madras, and the international conferences of the World's Student Christian Federation, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, and others, have been building bridges that are surviving the onslaughts of destruction better than the bridges of steel and concrete or the bridges of diplomacy. And they are bridges across frontiers.

We must not underestimate the difficulties with which the ecumenical movement is confronted because of the deep-seated differences of judgment among Christians of various nations and churches. Some differences arise from misunderstanding. They can frequently be eliminated by intimate contact and exchange of views. Other differences persist in spite of rather full understanding and close association. These latter differences, which are stubborn and which continue, constitute the greater challenge. However, if the church can show how men can live together cooperatively and with good will in spite of differences, it will be even more helpful to the world than if it had no stubborn differences in its own fellowship. For the world has such differences and will continue to have them.

In January, 1940, at a luncheon in Berlin, I faced this problem squarely. My purpose in being there was to help maintain the ecumenical fellowship of the church across lines of conflict in war time. My visit was in part, at least, the occasion of the luncheon. Around the table were leaders of the German churches and others interested in what was happening in relations with churches in other countries, notably in America. During the course of the remarks references were made to the war that reflected judgments with which I could not agree. Many of my fellow-American churchmen would have disagreed vehemently. I was there not only as an individual, but also somewhat officially representing American Christians in the ecumenical movement.

In such a situation what was I to do? Here was the dilemma: I was among fellow-Christians for the purpose of strengthening the bonds of fellowship. There were differences between some of the group and me, differences of political judgment that amounted to differences of moral judgment. They would be more pronounced between some of the group and many of my American colleagues. To disregard the differences would be to evade issues and maintain a superficial, meaningless fellowship such as diplomats maintain by limiting themselves to pleasantries. To strike out in indictment of those who differed would be to destroy fellowship and the possibility of ecumenical exchange.

Such situations are inherent in the work of the ecumenical movement. In the secular world of affairs they usually result either in evasion or in controversy and estrangement, because the common grounds underlying Christian fellow-

ship are lacking. Christians, on the other hand, can differ without estrangement. Therefore I could say to my German friends something like this: "I disagree with some of your judgments and your actions, but I do not—I cannot—judge your conscience. No man can do that, especially no Christian; for 'God alone is lord of the conscience.' Therefore I do not judge your motive and impulse. On that basis we can proceed with our discussion and our work together. We can pray together for insight into the will of God and for faith and courage and grace to do his will. I have genuine sympathy for you in your struggles and sufferings, though I disapprove of some of the things you do and I cannot be party to them. If we keep close to God in Christ and thus close to each other, our differences may bring us agony, but not estrangement. Then, through our fellowship in his Church, we may be used by him to bind a broken world together."

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP IN GOD

Similar experiences are reported frequently by Christians from Japan and China. At the Madras conference, which was attended by both Japanese and Chinese delegates, Dr. T. Z. Koo made a very poignant affirmation of ultimate Christian loyalty from which the following is taken:

My country today is being invaded by Japan. Before the war I could meet a Japanese Christian and feel we were one in Christ. But today, with the Japanese army marching across my country, killing and destroying everything in its way, a sense of strain bears down heavily upon my Christianity when I face a Japanese. During the past few months I have often

asked myself the question whether my faith as a Christian will stand this strain or break under it. Every time the same answer comes back to me with inexorable clarity, "Your Christianity will break under the strain if in your life as a Christian you place loyalty to country before loyalty to God." . . .

Jesus challenges our complacency in this matter by telling us we should love not only our friends but also our enemies. As long as there is not a concrete enemy before us, or if the enemy is a thousand miles from us, we can vaguely think about loving the enemy. For instance, Japan in the ordinary political sense has been an enemy to China for many years. As long as the enemy stays in his own country, nine hundred miles across the sea from me, I can use the words, "Love your enemy," without raising any practical problem. But since the outbreak of the "undeclared war" eighteen months ago, the enemy has moved himself across the sea and is now marching on my soil, destroying and killing. Does Christian love have any meaning in this kind of situation? You see, you can no longer take it for granted that we should love our enemy when he is actually standing before you waiting to be loved.¹

The growth of the ecumenical movement in that part of the world is fully as heartening as it is in the Atlantic basin, even though it has not been so conspicuous in recent years. The emphasis on the author's experiences in Europe should not be taken to imply that the movement for Christian unity is a European-American movement. Its scope is world-wide.

It will be pertinent here to narrate another experience that indicates what ecumenicity means in terms of one's own attitudes, whether in the East or the West.

¹ From *Addresses and Other Records*, Vol. VII of "The Madras Series," pp. 80-81, 83. New York, International Missionary Council, 1939. Used by permission.

On an evening in early January, 1940, I found myself at the Swiss-German frontier at Basel under the urgent necessity to get to Holland early the next day for the meeting of the Provisional Administrative Committee of the World Council of Churches. As I emerged from the train on the German side of the line—the only passenger—I was very much aware of the blackout. As I had expected, I was informed by the officials that there were no trains running on schedule down the Rhine, which was the direct route to Holland. It was explained, further, that foreigners were expected to go by a circuitous route around through Berlin. There were, however, trains—mostly troop trains—running down the Rhine, and I might get through. After considerable discussion the flat refusal to permit me to go the way I wanted was withdrawn with a reluctance that was quite justified.

Consequently I found myself in a blacked-out train among German soldiers, riding through completely blacked-out country, running parallel to the French frontier and not too far from it. The dim light in the car was not sufficient to enable one to read or to see pictures on the wall or to discern any details. The windows were covered completely by thick curtains so that not even the dim light could be seen from the outside. Crowded together in the intimacy of the small compartment, however, we could make out one another's features and general facial expressions.

Because of this intimacy, the fact of human association was paramount in the situation. Here were German soldiers in full military equipment—officers and men. They were agents of destruction, involved in the great tragedy of the

race, but when one sat with them, shoulder to shoulder, face to face, this fact was secondary. The primary fact was that they were men. I began to think about them as individuals. As I studied them there in the semi-darkness, I found them quiet, courteous, and strong. I thought to myself: I would trust my life in their hands as readily as in the hands of any such group that I might find on any railway train in any country, so far as they themselves are concerned. And yet, because of the circumstances, I did not feel entirely comfortable.

Then I would think about the other men just across the line, soldiers in the French and British armies. If I were riding among them, I would doubtless find them also quiet, courteous, and strong, and feel that as men I could trust them. And yet these men and those men, because of the war, are engaged in the process of mutual destruction. What does this mean to a Christian? What should be my attitude toward these men?

These German soldiers were engaged in fighting. Was this merely because they had been so commanded by their national leader? Or were they doing it voluntarily? There was probably an element of both in the case of most of them. They were prepared to fight because they believed their country's welfare and future were at stake. Some of them perhaps had misgivings about some of the things their national leader was doing. Some of them even perhaps questioned the necessity for fighting. Undoubtedly they had a measure of responsibility for it—just how large a measure, who can tell?

In a few days, I thought to myself, I shall be back in

Germany among these people. Later I shall be among those people on the other side of the line. How should I, a Christian, feel toward them? Doubtless we shall disagree fundamentally on many important issues. Some of these issues involve life and death, not only of men, women, and children, but even, perhaps, of other values.

In the loneliness and darkness, faced with such problems, it is not difficult to pray. Baffled, one thinks of what the touchstone of his attitude should be. For the Christian, that is obvious—the heart and mind of God. Yes, very well—but how can one be confident that he can understand how God must feel? Is it not presumptuous for him to attempt to do so? No, that is his responsibility. If prayer means anything, it means that a sinful but humble human being can enter into fellowship with God and learn something of his will. Moreover, God has surely intended to reveal himself to man through Jesus Christ. If one is a Christian, he believes that if he can know the mind of Christ, he can know the mind of God. Therefore, he asks, how must God look upon these men—God who sees them and sees also the French and English? How must Christ regard these men? Such are the questions that drive one to careful thought and earnest, humble prayer..

If I were the pastor of this young man at my shoulder, I thought, and of his family, if I had baptized him, known him through his years of development and perhaps performed the marriage rites for him, what would I do if he or his mother or wife had called me to their home a few hours earlier to lead them in family worship as he was about to leave for the front, perhaps never to return? How

nations exchanged memoranda through the Geneva office as a clearing house. Following the Oxford and Edinburgh conferences, when the provisional organization was set up looking toward the inauguration of the World Council of Churches, a study department was established under the chairmanship of an American, Professor Henry P. Van Dusen, and with two secretaries, Dr. Hans Schönfeld, a German, and the Reverend Nils Ehrenstrom from Sweden. It was in connection with the work of this department that the group of thirty-five met at Geneva in July, 1939, for the consultation described already on page 97. During the same month another international group met in England to carry on the study of the Christian ethic.

The memorandum from the Geneva group has been studied widely in many countries. In this country twenty thousand copies have been distributed. It is well known among churchmen in Germany and France. Since the beginning of war other memoranda have been exchanged between groups and individuals in various countries, including the belligerents. They are concerned with various aspects of the contribution of the church to world order.

For example, a paper on "Germany and the West" was prepared in Geneva originally and distributed among the correspondents for study and comment. Various papers discussing it and criticizing it were prepared by German, English, and other scholars and circulated among those who had received the original memorandum. Other studies centered around such themes as the following: "Spiritual Factors in the Peace Failure (1919-1939)"; "The Ecumenical Church and the International Situation"; "Com-

munism and International Order"; and "The Peace Aims of Great Britain." The exchange of views continues also between groups in China and Japan.

Thus, even in the midst of war, the churches are carrying on an exchange of views among experts, Christian scholars, statesmen, and economists, concerning the problem of world order. They are not only maintaining their fellowship as a basis of order in the wider areas of public affairs, but they are also contributing to the building of that order by creating common understandings. No comparable program has been carried on during these critical months by any secular group, so far as we know.

Even during the war period the churches continue to exchange information about their life, work, and thought. *The International Christian Press and Information Service* is published in Geneva by collaboration of five different international Christian agencies, which have offices there. The churches are not dependent upon occasional references to religious matters in the secular press. They have their own authentic information gathered and distributed through their own channels. In one issue picked at random are items from The Netherlands, Finland, Sweden, Rumania, Bulgaria, Germany, Estonia, Switzerland, China, Korea, U.S.S.R., and the United States.

What other international fellowship has maintained such close contact among its members during the war? Have scientists, business men, labor leaders, musicians? Have the statesmen been able to exchange frank and honest opinions? The obvious negative answer indicates again the significance of the ecumenical movement.

The world-wide fellowship of Christians which exists today could not have developed but for the missionary enterprise. And the International Missionary Council, composed of twenty-six councils of missionary societies and national Christian councils of younger churches, paved the way for the organization of the World Council of Churches. Its meeting at Madras, India, during the Christmas season of 1938, was one of the great ecumenical gatherings in the history of the Church. Delegates were present from all the larger churches, including Chinese and Japanese, whose nations were then at war.

We have emphasized in this book the work of the Life and Work Movement; but the work of the Faith and Order Movement is also relevant to the problem of world order. For the churches can better help to solve the problems of the world as they come closer together in mutual understanding of each other in such areas as theology, the use of the sacraments, and ecclesiastical structure. What Oxford did in developing solidarity among the churches in their work in the world, Edinburgh did in developing mutual respect and understanding and a sense of solidarity in essential common faith among the churches in their relations with each other.

Both movements are necessary in building order and genuine community among the churches. They have joined in the effort to create the World Council of Churches. It is assumed that they will become commissions of the World Council.

The world is not convinced that men can live together as the family of God merely on the basis of the church's

preaching. It demands of the church that it give a demonstration, both on a world scale and in the local community. When the churches become involved in petty wrangling among themselves, the world remarks sarcastically, "Behold how these Christians love one another!" Our divisions, as they now exist, seriously compromise our witness to Christ as the Lord of all men and the Saviour of all. The depth of meaning in his prayer is becoming more apparent: "That they all may be one; . . . that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." (*John 17:21.*)

Chapter Six

THE CHURCH AS LEAVEN IN NATIONAL POLICY

If THE League of Nations had been supported more generally, it would have been a much more effective agency for preserving order and achieving justice, even with all its inadequacies and faults. The great Powers—including our own—did not take it seriously enough. In addition to the League and the World Court there have been, for many years, a whole network of arbitration treaties, as well as the Hague Court and other provisions for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. They might have been sufficient if the nations had had a strong determination to make them work and had been willing to pay the price to make them work.

It is quite possible that even if the League organization had been perfect, it would have broken down. And it is too much to expect that it could have been made perfect without experience. We Americans should remember that we started our political life as a nation with Articles of Confederation, then changed to a different structure under the Constitution. Furthermore, we have since made numerous amendments.

Could the League have been made acceptable to America? It is extremely doubtful. We permitted it to be made a football of domestic politics. Even if it had been proved that an overwhelming majority of our people were for it rather than against it, we were not for it strongly enough. Otherwise we would have taken the issue out of domestic politics and would have joined. To deny that we could have done so is to deny that our government can be made to express the will of the people. The fact that we did not join therefore indicates that the League proposal outran our education and experience. The people were not ready for it. They did not care enough to rise up and get excited about it.

Even as the League stood in 1930, or perhaps in 1937, it might have been adequate if there had been a willingness to make Article XIX operative. That is the article authorizing the Assembly to "advise the reconsideration of treaties which may have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." Provision was thus made for a procedure by which the Treaty of Versailles might have been modified peacefully. And if the League had demonstrated itself to be an agency through which dangerous aspects of the *status quo* could be altered as well as an agency to prevent aggression, the course of events might have been quite different. But the will to make Article XIX effective was lacking. The Treaty of Versailles is cited as an extremely important example, not to suggest that it was the sole cause of the war that began in 1939.

The failure to utilize Article XIX was not due to

ignorance. Threats to peace and order were obvious. We might again refer to Winston Churchill's warning of 1924 (see page 26). Again and again during the last twenty years the people have been aware of dangers; they have had political instruments for dealing with them; but the will to act has not been adequate. There has been a concern for justice and order and peace; but there has not been a willingness to pay the price.

Political organization can function effectively only when it is the expression of the prevailing will of the people whom it affects. It must have positive support; indifferent acquiescence in it is not enough, even though it may be accepted in theory and principle by a majority. Arbitrary, autocratic government may be effective for a time; but tyranny always carries within itself the seeds of its own defeat.

No matter how adequate the charter and organization of government in the local community, if the people lose interest trouble soon develops. A minority group will almost certainly gain control of the organization and exploit it for its own selfish purposes. Most American cities, large and small, have had this experience. Favoritism, incompetence, corruption, and intrigue gradually develop when the people are not on their guard, until some political scandal shocks them out of their indifference and they rise up to change those who hold office and perhaps to amend the form of government in such a way as to make abuses less likely in the future.

Law also is not observed generally or for very long unless it is based upon a public opinion and conscience that give

it moral foundation and sanction. When that sanction disappears the law becomes inoperative if it has been enacted in a democracy, or it becomes a source of unrest and possible revolution if it has been arbitrarily imposed.

International law, if it is to stabilize the international community, must rest upon moral standards generally accepted by the nations. A common ethos must be re-established.

Dr. Max Huber, formerly president of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague and president of the International Red Cross, says in his paper on "The Christian Understanding of Law," prepared for the Oxford Conference:

Without an ethos no law can exist. Power and expediency are necessary for law, but they do not constitute a foundation strong enough to resist changes, nor a point of contact for renewal if the law has been broken. Continuity and dignity is given to law only by something which transcends law and external circumstances, namely, the sense of obligation which is found in the conscience of the human being who is subject to law. Nowhere is the moral foundation so necessary as in international law.¹

Dr. Huber points out that an international legal system can be developed only when there is a recognition of moral authority above and beyond the nation. A basis for international and supranational law existed in the medieval Christian community because church and empire provided concurrently the double sanctions of political order and

¹ *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, by the Marquess of Lothian et al., p. 133. Oxford Conference Books, Vol. 7. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1938. Used by permission.

common ethical standards. Our hope today lies in the universal, supranational world-view and moral code of the Christian church, with its equal concern for the welfare of all peoples. Dr. Huber writes, "It is only through the Christian church that a possible basis for an international and supranational law has been created."¹

How far can the political scientists or international lawyers go toward establishing world order through political organization and law until there are moral foundations upon which to build? How can a social structure be built in a community in which common purposes and moral codes are lacking, in which some interpret history in terms of the unique worth and privilege of a particular group on the basis of "blood, race, and soil," others in terms of the rights of class and the inevitability of economic determinism—whether Communists or capitalistic aristocrats—and still others in terms of equal rights and equal responsibilities irrespective of race, nation, or class? Russian communism, German national socialism, and Western liberal capitalistic democracy profess mutually contradictory faiths, although there is not so wide a divergence in conduct as in professed faiths.

It becomes apparent, therefore, that the contribution of the Christian church to world order in the creation of a common ethos is indispensable—more crucial than has been generally recognized. Herein lies a primary responsibility.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.



THE CHURCHES AND POLITICAL ACTION

This does not mean, however, that the church can limit itself to proclaiming moral principles and cultivating moral responsibility; for the moral will without instruments through which it can function is seriously handicapped—if not futile—in social expression. Therefore the establishment of a world political organization that will be consonant with the Christian world-view is a necessary corollary of the cultivation of Christian moral attitudes.

The leaders of the Reformation found it necessary not only to preach their principles, point out faults in the existing church, and win adherents to their cause; they found it also necessary to establish churches—often at great cost—in which they could practice their beliefs, because the existing church was inherently hostile. Some who found it impossible in their own lands to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences came to this country at great risk and sacrifice, to establish not only new ecclesiastical institutions, but also political institutions that would be conducive to liberty.

It is not the responsibility of the church to prescribe the precise form of social organization that is needed; but it is the responsibility of the church to point out the fundamental principles in accordance with which man's social life should be organized. The church is not required to judge as to the best political provisions against slavery, sexual promiscuity, murder, or the exploitation of children in industry, for example; but it must pronounce judgment against any system that accepts those evils, must openly oppose that system, must define the principles in accordance

with which the system should be changed, and must encourage and support those in positions of political responsibility who sincerely attempt to build political structure and practice upon those principles.

It is inconsistent to preach our Christian responsibility, to seek justice for all peoples and to serve their welfare, while leaving unchallenged political principles and a political system that assume or justify irresponsibility in practical relationships. Our political behavior must be at least consistent with our Christian profession.

We know that no political organization can in itself insure justice and peace. No political order that we urge as possible of achievement in this present state of human society is to be confused with our ideal of the kingdom of God on earth. But we must at least challenge an order that is anti-Christian in character; and such is the widespread anarchy that has come to pass in a world of absolute sovereign states.

The message of the Geneva meeting held under the auspices of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches in 1939, to which reference has already been made, said:

The immediate task in this field is *to improve the ethos of interstate relations*—to bring influences to bear upon what has been left, by a long tradition, in a jungle outside the bounds of law, of morality, of courtesy and decent human feeling. International relations at least need not and must not be definitely anti-Christian. It is for Christians to strive for the acceptance by their governments of definite standards which will rule out the worst elements in the present relationships and lead to the raising of the level, so that rules of neighborli-

ness between states may be comparable to those obtaining between individuals.¹

The churches, in addition to their work as branches of a world enterprise functioning through the missionary and the ecumenical movements, have also a clear responsibility to act as leaven in influencing the behavior of the nations in which they stand. Occasionally there are issues of public policy that very obviously involve principles upon which the church has a responsibility to speak. Sometimes these principles are clearly involved in certain measures of legislation; yet since the church is usually not competent to pronounce judgment upon the technical details of legislation, it finds itself in a very precarious position in supporting or opposing a given piece of legislation.

However, in the case of the Oriental Exclusion Act, the technical details were of secondary importance. The whole measure was based on a principle that was contrary to some of the fundamental tenets of the Church. For our nation to discriminate against certain peoples on the grounds of race was to flout deliberately the principle of equal rights and opportunities for all men, regardless of race. I go back far enough in the selection of this example to find a case where it is now quite obvious that the consequences of our national policy increased resentment and tension in the Pacific area and contributed in no small measure to the development of national attitudes out of which recent disastrous conflicts have come. When that bill was pending in Congress the churches attempted to arouse the

¹ "The Churches and the International Crisis," p. 12. New York, Federal Council of Churches, 1939.

conscience of our people and went so far in their effort to influence national policy as to send representatives to appear before Congressional committees in protest against the bill. Such action was generally conceded to be appropriate because the measure, regardless of its technical details, was wrong in principle.

The distinction to be drawn between advocating the observance of right principles and passing judgment upon technical matters may be seen by another reference to the Oriental Exclusion Act. The churches are still opposed to that act in principle. However, they are not in a position to know whether its repeal now would contribute more to a stabilization of the Pacific area or to the deepening chaos.

The churches have a constant responsibility for defining principles upon which national conduct in its relation to other peoples should be based, and also a responsibility for constantly reminding its members that as citizens they should be guided by these principles in their political decisions and conduct. Let us, therefore, consider the two cardinal principles that the churches should clearly enunciate and establish as a basis for political conduct, as defined by the consultative group which met under the auspices of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches in Geneva in 1939.

THE NATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY

The first principle set forth by that group was this:

Political power should always be exercised with a full sense of responsibility. All government involves the exercise of power, and there is, therefore, nothing unchristian or unethical about

the nature of power in itself, but wherever there is power there is temptation to use it selfishly and carelessly, without due regard for the needs and interests of those who are affected by it. Such irresponsible use of power is definitely unchristian.¹

A nation, because of its political, military, or economic power, may control the destinies of other weaker nations. The weaker nations are thus at the mercy of the stronger nations. Therefore, the responsibility of the stronger nation cannot be evaded.

The possession of power may be conscious or unconscious. We may be fully aware of it and sensitive to its implications for us; or we may not realize the extent of our control or influence over other peoples. The United States is surely conscious of its power over the Philippine Islands. Great Britain is fully conscious of its power over India. Germany is at least equally conscious of its power over Czechoslovakia and Poland, perhaps less conscious of its power over Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France.

There is a fairly general recognition of the responsibility that goes with power when the possession of that power is conscious. This recognition is indicated by the length to which nations generally go in trying to prove that their policy with regard to the weaker nations is in the interest of justice for those nations. There is, however, in many instances a vast difference between what is actually justice and what is described as justice. It is an obvious responsibility of the churches to question constantly all national policies that may involve injustice.

¹ "The Churches and the International Crisis," p. 10.

The temptation to disregard considerations of welfare for the weaker peoples is so great that ethical restraints must continually be imposed upon the powerful motive of self-interest. It is so easy to rationalize the exploitation of weaker peoples on the assumption that the mere strength of the more powerful nation is an indication that it has a right to serve its own interest, regardless of the consequences. We Americans know how difficult it is to disentangle our own interests from the interests of the Filipinos or the Puerto Ricans. The whole history of imperialism is a record of justification of the white man in his domination of other races.

At the present moment the relations of the United States with weaker nations to the south are fraught with grave ethical perils because of the implications of this principle. We are well aware of the fact that to a large degree many of these nations are dependent upon us because of our military power and in some cases because of our economic power. We are under great temptation to exploit this relationship in our own interest. Several months ago I asked a wise French friend how he and his friends viewed America's policy and our position in the international scene. His answer was along these lines:

"We think we see the States withdrawing, as a matter of policy, from the affairs of Europe. Somewhat less noticeably you are withdrawing from Asia. Your reason for so doing is your preoccupation with your own hemisphere. You are becoming the imperialistic power of the Americas. What is imperialism but a strong nation gathering about itself a group of dependent nations and strengthening itself

through its domination of them? As Britain and France have done this, reaching out into various parts of the world, and as Germany is now doing, you Americans are doing in principle. Because of the relation of Britain to outlying territories, she speaks of her life-line of empire. We do the same. Germany is dominating other nations and justifying herself on the grounds that she is consolidating her *lebensraum*. You Americans regard the Western Hemisphere as your *lebensraum*. You justify your policy by what you call the Monroe Doctrine."

My friend's answer was rather sobering. I could see how, unconsciously, we might abandon our "good neighbor" policy and turn to exploiting Central and South American countries.

Is it not the responsibility of the churches to hold up before our nation in vivid and inescapable terms our ethical responsibility so to use our power, especially in this hemisphere, as to contribute not only to our own welfare, but equally to the welfare of those who, either voluntarily or involuntarily, have become dependent upon us in some way or other anywhere in the world?

An example of relatively unconscious exercise of power in an irresponsible way was cited by an American at the consultation in Geneva in July, 1939. Some years ago our Congress, under pressure from interests in our silver states, raised the price of silver. It thereby adopted a policy regarded as generally advantageous to our nation and especially advantageous to a few states, but which had the effect of drastically disturbing the fiscal system of China, which based its currency on silver. So far as I know, the con-

sequences of this policy in the lives of the Chinese people were not considered in the debate in Congress—at least they were not realized by the American public generally. Because they were not realized, the injustice of our action was comparatively unconscious. That, however, does not justify our action as a nation. In this complex world of close economic interdependence a powerful nation must take into account the consequences of its action in the lives of other peoples. To keep this concern for other peoples constantly before our people is primarily a responsibility of the churches. They must sensitize public opinion.

Every measure that our government adopts determining our trade relations with another nation is an exercise of power that involves responsibility. When we impose a heavy import duty on certain raw material or manufactured goods we are throwing the lives of some people abroad completely out of adjustment. We may even be throwing them into poverty. We could almost strangle some nations by an irresponsible use of our power.

Professor Eugene Staley in his broadcast address of April 13, 1940, already cited,¹ said:

One point must be seen clearly, because it is so often overlooked by advocates of economic isolation in America. If the large, well endowed, political units, like the United States, build economic walls around themselves and decide to go in for self-sufficiency or even for a minimum of foreign trade, they are not merely renouncing the advantages of trade for themselves. *They are renouncing trade for other peoples, too.* The big country, giving up opportunities for two-way trade

¹ See p. 36.

that it may be led to regard as unimportant, is depriving the small or middle-sized country of a necessity.¹

Another exercise of power that has been half-conscious and half-unconscious has been our refusal to throw our influence on the side of political world order at some points in the past. I am well aware of the faults of the League of Nations as it was constituted, but I must confess that one of the most humiliating moments of my life was hearing a French speaker at the Oxford Conference in 1937 say very forcibly but without bitterness that in the future the world would probably look back and say that one of the most tragic lost opportunities of history had been the failure of the United States to use its power toward the establishment of political world order through the only available instrument at the time, namely, the League of Nations. He pointed out that the power of the United States might have been influential in making of the League an effective instrument for justice and peace.

We Americans, by the very fact of our power, have a responsibility not only to desist from irresponsible action but also to arouse ourselves from irresponsible inaction.

Again, it must be pointed out that it was probably not within the competence of the churches to judge as to the conditions under which the United States should have been urged to join the League of Nations. However, it was not a difference with regard to technical provisions that resulted

¹ Excerpt from "Markets, Raw Materials, and Peace," a radio address delivered over the Columbia Broadcasting System, under the auspices of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. Used by permission.

in our non-participation. It was, rather, an avowal of an untenable principle—namely, our lack of responsibility for the world community. If the issue had been primarily the best means by which we might fulfill our responsibility, then the task of the churches would have been different. But if it was an issue of acknowledged responsibility or asserted irresponsibility, then the churches had no choice but to challenge with all their power and influence the doctrine of irresponsibility. The churches can take some satisfaction in their record because their influence was on the whole on the side of international responsibility. But they cannot be complacent on the basis of their record, because they were not at that time as aggressive and fearless in their insistence on our assuming responsibility as they should have been.

Issues are constantly arising today that involve the same discussion of principle. The churches still have no real competence to determine just what measures of international cooperation will most adequately fulfill our responsibility as a nation. We must, however, insist in season and out of season that the policy of selfish isolation, even when based upon the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty, is unethical, unchristian, and in the long run self-defeating.

REGARD FOR HUMAN BEINGS

The second cardinal principle enunciated at the Geneva conference as basic and Christian was that

. . . all human beings are of equal worth in the eyes of God, and should be so treated in the political sphere. It follows that

the ruling power should not deny essential rights to human beings on the ground of their race, or class, or religion, or culture, or any such distinguishing characteristics.¹

The implications of this principle for our own national policy at several points are clear. We might refer again to the Oriental Exclusion Act. That measure involved a very direct repudiation of this principle of national behavior. This should be a guiding principle in our relations with the Philippine Islands and with Puerto Rico; likewise, with all the peoples of South America. It means that if any of the West Indian colonies of European powers should come under the administrative control of the nations of this hemisphere, as contemplated by the agreements of the Havana Conference of July 21-30, 1940, the United States would use its power and influence toward the establishment of a policy that would look toward the political independence or, at least, the highest political welfare of the peoples of those territories.

This point was called to the attention of Secretary of State Hull prior to the meeting of the Havana Conference in a letter from the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches, which included the following:

We respectfully recommend that the United States consult with all other American states in any procedure bearing upon the status of the Western colonial possessions of European powers. . . .

Far from strengthening American democracy, the outright ownership of these possessions by the United States, either through the free choice of the Continental Powers concerned

¹ "The Churches and the International Crisis," p. 10.

or as a result of a dictated peace in the event of a German victory, would imperil and weaken the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere. If any change is to be effected in the status of these possessions, it should be a change brought about by the joint action of all of the American states in cooperation with the peoples concerned, with the administration of these possessions placed under the supervision of an inter-American body pending the time when they may secure for themselves complete and absolute independence.

We would not imply that the influence of the churches determined the action of the conference, but it is interesting and instructive to note that the Act of Havana includes this declaration:

That when islands or regions in the Americas now under the possession of non-American nations are in danger of becoming the subject of barter of territory or change of sovereignty, the American nations, taking into account the imperative need of continental security and the desires of the inhabitants of the said islands or regions, ~~may~~ set up a régime of provisional administration.

It was further provided, and this is important from the standpoint of the churches,

. . . that when the reasons requiring this measure shall cease to exist . . . such territories shall, in accordance with the principle reaffirmed by this declaration that the peoples of this continent have the right freely to determine their own destinies, be organized as autonomous states if it shall appear that they are able to constitute and maintain themselves in such condition, or be restored to their previous status, whichever alternative shall appear the more practicable and just.

If this principle were generally recognized by the na-

tions, the whole colonial system would have to be drastically modified. In this system, we should also point out, the disregard of the will of the weak by the strong is also involved; that is, the exercise of power without commensurate responsibility.

SETTING STANDARDS FOR THE NATION

Through their whole educational program, the churches can contribute greatly to an understanding of other nations on the part of our own people and to a sympathetic attitude toward these distant lands. Because of the Christian world-view, as already defined in connection with our discussion of the missionary enterprise and the ecumenical movement, we have a vital concern for the welfare of all peoples. To influence our government to take this into account in all its dealings and to contribute to understanding, especially in times of tension and in areas of conflict, is a primary obligation of the churches.

In the light of the foregoing principles it becomes clear that the churches have a great opportunity to serve the whole cause of international justice and good will in a time such as this by awakening the conscience of the nation to its responsibility to provide mercy and relief for the suffering millions of the world caught in the chaos and destruction of war. If America, with her great wealth and her freedom from the catastrophies of armed conflict, is deaf to the cries of humanity in this dark hour, she will contribute to cynicism and despair. As we voluntarily contribute of our wealth and resources to the alleviation of the world's suffering, we shall keep alive the faith of

peoples everywhere in the higher motives of human behavior.

At some points the course of responsible action is not clear. Certain types of relief in certain areas may do more harm than good. But there are other areas and types of relief about which there is no debate and where failure on our part will without question deepen tragedy and in some instances be responsible for death itself. There are millions in China who are in desperate need. There are *bona fide* refugees from oppression who can look to no one but to Americans for help. There are missionaries of European churches in many corners of the earth shut off from funds from their home churches who look to us.

Some of these things are primarily the responsibility of the churches—for example, the missionaries stranded by the war.¹ Others constitute a challenge to anyone with humanitarian sympathies. But whether these appeals come primarily to churches or to the American community generally, it is a Christian responsibility, even more especially than it is a responsibility of the community generally, to keep alive the impulse to help. To us Christians these are not merely other human beings in want; they are other children of God who are our brothers and whose suffering grieves the heart of the Father of all mankind. In every American community the church should be the chief inspirer of sacrificial generosity.

¹ See Chapter Four, p 72.

Chapter Seven

THE WORLD PROBLEM IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

THIS world situation is a bad mess, but I've got more than I can do to look after my own affairs and try to keep up with what's happening in the United States. After all, there isn't anything I can do about the war in China, and the whole situation in Europe is hopeless. It's been that way over there for centuries—that's why my grandfather came over here. I feel bad to see them in all this trouble, but there's nothing I can do that will make any difference. Our church has all it can do to look after the spiritual welfare of the congregation. A lot of people are losing hold on religion, you know." Thus answered a deacon of a church in an Ohio city when I asked him recently what he and his church were doing about the international situation.

Such is the answer of many Christians in all parts of our country. They fail to see where their church fits into the world scene—unless it is through the support of missions, and even then they do not understand the significance of what they are doing. It is a fact that the average man or woman does not see how his own local church and he him-

self as a member of it have a bearing upon the international situation.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

One reason for this attitude is that the church member is prone to think of his relation to international problems almost entirely from the viewpoint of a citizen of the United States. He sees such problems as the problems of governments. Between him and the people of France stand the government of the United States and the government of France (and of Germany, also, at this writing). His relations to the people concerned are indirect, remote, and involved—unless he has relatives or friends abroad, in which case he has a sense of direct personal relationship and personal interest. He does not realize the consequences of the fact of church membership for his relations to world problems. He is not aware of the channels that it opens up for him, and of the possibilities for influencing the world situation. As a churchman he has a whole set of relationships—opportunities and obligations that are different from those involved in the fact of his citizenship in the political state.

When a person joins a Congregational church in Boston, or a Baptist church in Detroit, or a Methodist church in Dallas, or an Episcopal church in Seattle, he enters into the fellowship of the Church of Christ, which reaches around the world. This is the wider significance of his profession of faith. He becomes a fellow-member of that Church along with the Lutheran in Berlin, the Presbyterian in Peiping, and the member of the Reformed church in

Capetown. These are facts that should be impressed upon him on the occasion of his joining the local church. He should be reminded that he is being received into the great universal Church of Christ, into a fellowship of all races and nations. If he objects to this, he does not belong in a Christian church, but in a society that is merely national or racial or sectarian, perhaps one based upon "blood, race, and soil."

Thus, as a member of the church, he has a more direct relationship with the people of other countries than he has as a citizen of the state. He has a basis of intercourse and understanding. He has channels of communication, sometimes limited by the state, but in some respects beyond the power of the state to limit.

THE CHURCHES' INITIATIVE IN THE COMMUNITY

The local church has a world responsibility. A part of that responsibility is to endeavor to permeate its local community with a sense of world responsibility. The church denies its faith and Christian world-view if it denies that it is "internationalist." It is not surprising that totalitarian nationalism attempts to control, suppress, or destroy it.

Some years ago I came upon quite a disturbance in a small mid-Western town arising from a controversy between some church women and some leaders in a very well known women's patriotic organization. One of the church women had subscribed to *Everyland*, a children's missionary magazine published at that time, for the town library. It appeared on the reading table in the children's section. On the cover were drawings of children from various lands—

an Eskimo, an African, a Chinese, an Indian among them, if I remember correctly. It carried stories of children from every land. The so-called patriots protested to the library committee and insisted that the magazine be removed, on the grounds that it made the children "internationally minded and less patriotic."

Perhaps this illustration is not characteristic. However, there are plenty of Americans who assume that an interest in the welfare of other people indicates a lack of patriotism. In lists of dangerous citizens, published by self-styled patriots, "internationalists" are condemned along with socialists and communists as enemies of the nation. To have advocated American entrance into the League of Nations or the World Court is enough to bring one under suspicion. Leaders of the Committee on World Friendship among Children, which arranged for the children of America to send dolls as ambassadors of friendship to the children of Japan in 1926-27, "treasure chests" to the Philippines, school bags to Mexico, scrapbooks to China, and good-will suitcases to the children on both sides during the Spanish civil war, are condemned as "internationalists."

Perhaps there should be an honor roll of the truly patriotic local churches that cherish for our nation a place of leadership in helpfulness to a suffering and desperate world!

Such patriotism rests upon far-sighted national self-interest as well as Christian responsibility. The church that thinks that foreign missions are only an incidental part of its program, to be studied and supported by a few of the women "who have nothing else more important to do," would not be eligible to the honor roll.

We have seen already, in our discussion of what is needed if there is to be a more just and stable world order, that common standards of value and principles of mutual social responsibility must be understood and accepted more generally in all countries, including our own. To develop these by education is a function of the local church in its community.

It may be that in some communities it will be the responsibility of the church to initiate a program to study the economic dependence of the community on world trade. Local industry may be affected—it probably is—by the availability of raw materials from foreign countries or by the accessibility of foreign markets. To reveal the facts to the people may shock them out of their complacent assumptions of self-sufficiency. That is only a beginning of the task; the development of a sense of ethical responsibility remains, and that is the unique responsibility of the church.

FELLOWSHIP WITHIN THE CHURCHES

But the church does not need to go out into the community to find its task. Within the limits of its own institutional life it has an opportunity to demonstrate its faith and world-view. And a demonstration is the best means of education both for itself and others. It can show what is meant by people with differences living together as the family of God.

How can a divided church show the way to a divided world? By a divided church I mean a church in which there are petty and disruptive rivalries, in which differences cause antagonisms and recriminations, in which one group or denomination claims that it alone is Christian or that it is more Christian than another. I do not mean by a divided

church a church in which there are differences in ecclesiastical structure or modes of worship or secondary theological interpretations. Perhaps a church with differences—unity with diversity—can be more helpful to the world than a church without differences but with universal conformity to one pattern. There is diversity in the international society—differences of race and culture, for example. We seek for the world a society in which there will be differences without conflict but with mutual helpfulness and enrichment. A church that can demonstrate in its own life differences without estrangement, but with mutual helpfulness and enrichment, will show the world the way.

The local community will remain skeptical about the possibility of achieving harmonious order in the wider world of racial and national groups as long as the churches in its midst fail to achieve harmonious order. The ecumenical movement must be rooted in the local community if it is to make substantial progress. If Presbyterians, Baptists, and Lutherans cannot achieve harmonious cooperation in Centerville, how seriously will the people of Centerville take the admonitions of the churches that British, Germans, and Japanese should live together in order and without war?

America's population is so mixed that there are within most local communities groups or individuals of different races and with a variety of national backgrounds. Some of these are Christians, included within the wider circle of the church's fellowship. When there is tension or hostility between the groups in the community because of their differences, the church can give a demonstration of how those differences should be dealt with.

In most communities class distinctions are a greater cause of tension than are racial or national distinctions. The people "on the other side of the railroad tracks" are more likely to be regarded as "not our kind" because of class than because of nationality. Except for the color line, people of other nationalities will as a rule be accepted in the "best society" if they are well-to-do. A Polish count is acceptable; likewise a successful Italian business man. But their fellow-nationals who live on the other side of the tracks are "Polaks" or "Wops." Then the "foreigners" may be held in contempt and fear because of their class and in suspicion because of their origin.

Whether tensions arise because of race, nationality, or class, those tensions are supposed to be dissolved in the Christian fellowship. Those tensions are among the causes of conflict in the world, no matter what your interpretation of the causes and the meanings of the present wars: destructive revolutionary uprising of those who are, or who think they are, the "have-not" nations, or the dispossessed, fighting to achieve what they regard as their rights—psychologically the class struggle among the nations; lust for power; unwarranted pride of "blood, race, and soil"—racial and cultural conceit; communist world-revolution and its counter-revolution—proletarian resentment and the fear of it; decadent, stale, effete, capitalistic imperialism facing dynamic barbarism—another aspect of "the idle rich and the rising masses" picture; the arrogant, ruthless, nihilistic leader with unlimited lust for power—the eternal human factor wherever there are restless masses who will rally round him.

Politically speaking, the analogy between the world and

the local community is not close because of the provisions in civil government for handling these issues without war, and the absence of those provisions in the world community, which has already been analyzed. Psychologically, the problems of the world community are found in the local community. Moreover, no matter what government may be achieved in the world community, there will still be the possibility and the constant threat of revolution. Human nature will still be with us and also the inevitability of change, with some who are satisfied with a *status quo* wanting to perpetuate it, and others who are restless wanting change. There will still be racial, cultural, and class tensions. Therefore most of the root problems of the international order are now and will be in the future in principle in the local community.

THE UNIQUE OPPORTUNITIES OF PRAYER

This work of the churches across all national frontiers is going on continuously through the national offices of the churches. It is somewhat indirect and remote so far as the individual local church and its members are concerned. But there may be more direct communication. A women's group in a local church in New Jersey during a series of morning meetings for devotions recently wrote a number of prayers and meditations that they made their own and then sent, along with a series of Bible quotations, to the women in a church in Germany. Of course they were non-political. They serve to keep fresh and vivid the sense of Christian fellowship in the face of the breakdown of relationships between governments.

Communications such as these may be limited or stopped by governments in the national interest. But there is another aspect of Christian fellowship that is beyond the control of the state—prayer. When my friend the deacon in Ohio worships—privately or in his own local church—he worships as one of a great unseen company who all likewise pray, "Our Father . . ." And prayer is one of the functions of the individual and of the local household of faith that cannot be delegated to a national office or a representative.

How tragic it is that we so neglect prayer! At such a time as this the churches should be devoting many more services to worship—scripture, prayer, and hymns—than they have been. One wonders if it would not be a good idea to double the hours spent in worship and cut in half the time spent in talking. Surely our talking would be improved, but that would be an incidental result.

It was a wise French pastor who told me five months after the beginning of the war that he had not yet preached about the issues of the war. He had not known what to say. And he was about the last man in France of whom it could be said that he was irresponsible or unconcerned. One wonders whether the ease and self-assurance with which some American Christians talk about the war is to be accounted for by the three thousand miles that separate them from it or by the insufficiency of their prayer. If the quality of our talk is determined by the quality of our silence, the insight and spirit of our talk about the problems of the world today will be Christian only if they come out of much disciplined prayer.

Christians could bind this broken world together if they

would pray as Christians should. That statement implies both that prayer itself is relevant to the world situation and also that our action should be based upon prayer. We Americans are in little danger of emphasizing the first too much—if, indeed, it is possible to overemphasize it.

There is something presumptuous about suggesting guiding principles for prayer. But the prayer life of so many individuals and churches is so impoverished, and both the world and we ourselves are so desperately in need of more adequate prayer, that I venture a few suggestions, not in dogmatism but in a spirit of testimony. We cannot obtain genuine and helpful prayer by prescription. Like art and love, it "breaks through language and escapes." However, there are some principles which, upon reflection, appear to have been implicit in the worship of groups where the power of God has obviously been present to inspire, to restore faith, and to bind men of different races and nations together in the Church.

Approach God as our Creator, Ruler, and Father. We belong to God. Our lives are in his hand. He has made the world and man. He rules the world, presiding over the destinies of men and nations. His laws are not broken with impunity; when men disregard his laws they break themselves. He is not on the margin of history, an incidental factor. He is at the center of the stream of history, at the beginning and the ending. His will is therefore the supreme consideration in all our thought and behavior.

Unless we approach God in this faith and confidence, we tend to seek his furtherance of our own purposes so that our will may prevail. This requisite for Christian prayer was

defined in a statement published in Germany during the early months of this war:

The unspiritual war prayer takes the human purposes as the starting point, motive, and content of prayer. God is to guarantee the success of that which men have planned. It is taken for granted that he is the "ally" in Heaven. . . . Men say *a*, God is to say *b*. . . . The Church of Jesus Christ, however, worships God the Lord as the Alpha and as the Omega, the beginning and the end. . . .

The unspiritual war prayer lets the world decide as to our relatedness with and separation from our fellowmen. It denies the *communio sanctorum*. The Church of Jesus Christ, however, is conscious of being the one Church all over the earth, separated from all revolution against the Lord, but called to mercy with regard to the suffering of all creatures.

We approach God not only as our Creator and Ruler but also as our Father. He is not indifferent; he cares. He is not only a God of judgment; he is a Father with mercy and compassion. Therefore, we approach him not only in fear, but also in confidence.

When we pray, we pray to the Father of all mankind. We deny our faith when we assume that God has more concern for our welfare than for the welfare of other people, or that our nation is entitled to some special divine favor.

Submit to God. Pride in our own virtue or our own wisdom stands between us and God. In comparison with our family and neighbors, perhaps we do not so often boast that we are "not as other men are." But we do unconsciously boast that as a people, in comparison with other nations, we are "not as other men." The inclination to let prayer degenerate is especially pronounced in time of war.

Instead of pride, humility is the appropriate attitude always in the presence of the Ruler of the universe and the Father of all mankind, and hand in hand with humility must go penitence and confession. God does not use us, or show us the way until and unless we submit.

Pray for the whole family of God, for the world. If God wills the welfare of all his children, then the welfare of all men is of concern to each one of us. Human tragedy anywhere is of concern to Christians everywhere. Sin and suffering must weigh upon the heart of every child of God when he comes to the Father in prayer—not vague abstract classifications of people, but individuals: the hungry peasant in the Yellow River valley in China, the Japanese teacher faced with a seemingly impossible choice between conflicting loyalties, the English mother who has lost her son, the German wife who has lost her husband, the lonely and bewildered Frenchman, the Spanish refugee in France, the unemployed father in his discouragement. We must think of them as individuals; the Father cares for them as individuals.

We must pray for men in what we judge to be their sin and folly, as well as in what we judge to be their high missions, again as individuals. For whom is it most difficult for you to pray—an American missionary in China, a Japanese pilot of a bomber, Kagawa, Hitler, Niemöller, Churchill, Queen Wilhelmina, Petain, Laval, Mussolini, the Pope, Stalin, Gandhi, Roosevelt? What a list! And are we to pray for them all? Must we pray for the blasphemer, the atheist, the renegade, the deluded, the little soul with great power, the complacent, the conceited, the saint, the prophet, the

healer? This is another point where prayer becomes a discipline. We are told on the highest authority that the Father is greatly concerned about the lost sheep, the lost coin, the prodigal son; does not the faithful Christian mother pray most for the boy who is making a fool of himself? The church is not so close as it should be to the heart of God as long as it prays only for its own.

Perhaps one of the capacities for which we most need to pray is for insight, humility, faith, and grace enough to be able to pray sincerely for those who "despitefully use" us or who exploit others, and to "forgive those who trespass against us."

Pray with the whole family of God. We must pray for all sorts and conditions of men. It is somewhat different to pray with the world-wide fellowship of those who acknowledge God to be the Lord and who likewise pray. There are some who are outside this circle; there are none outside the circle of those for whom we pray. We do not know where to draw the line. We know it is not drawn through the Atlantic or Pacific oceans, or the English Channel, or at any national frontier. We know it is not drawn around any language or color group. For our purpose here it will be drawn wide enough if it takes in all who in sincerity and truth pray in the name of Jesus Christ, "Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed by thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth."

We marvel at the rapidity of present-day communication which binds much of the world together into a community of information. We Christians have a community even more marvelous than this. It is not dependent upon any

physical apparatus. It rests upon the fellowship of prayer. My communication by mail or cable or wireless with my Christian brother in Germany or France or China or Japan today may be interrupted by storms or censors. There is no power on earth to interfere with my fellowship with him through prayer except what may happen in his heart or habit or in mine.

If we Christians become estranged from one another—if we despise one another or are bitter with one another—then our fellowship is broken, our community destroyed. This is perhaps a deeper tragedy than physical destruction or death. It is the worst casualty of war, when we permit it. Military neutrality is no guarantee against it. On the other hand, the fact that our nation becomes involved in war does not necessarily break our fellowship with Christians in the “enemy” country. We ourselves determine whether the transcendent Christian fellowship is broken. It may not be a matter of conscious choice. We may, as a matter of habit, become so absorbed in the welfare of those who are our nearest neighbors in terms of space that those who are out of sight, with whom correspondence is unsatisfactory, may not be included within our prayers.

Many individuals and local congregations know from their prayer experience during recent months how real the world-wide Christian fellowship is. Those who have used the “Form of Prayer,” promoted by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, in the consciousness that comrades in many countries were following the same line of thought, have been learning what it is to pray with others far away.

Others have learned the first steps through praying with individual friends or missionaries abroad. The local church, which supports its own missionary, and that missionary—far away and under strange conditions—pray with each other. And it is not only the missionary who is included within the circle but also those who work with him. I think of a missionary in China in whose work I have a sense of participation. I know that the Chinese Christians who share her work are praying for courage and understanding and peace and also to be kept free from hate of their enemies. When I pray for the same things for them and for myself, I pray *with* them more than I pray *for* them.

Significant progress is being made. We are increasingly aware of our common scripture, prayers, creeds, and hymns. How poignant is the sense of comradeship in struggle and suffering when we sing, "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*"—"A mighty fortress is our God." The widening circle of those who are observing World-Wide Communion Sunday (the first Sunday of October) suggests the tremendous potentialities in simultaneous participation in the sacrament. Actually millions of Christians are enrolled in the World-Wide Fellowship of Prayer. The statement that each individual signs is this:

I enroll in a World-Wide Fellowship of Prayer and it will be my sincere purpose during this year to pray daily with others around the globe for

My own life and work, that both may be acceptable to God.

A World-wide revival of Christianity, beginning in my own country.

The ending of war and the establishment of a righteous peace.

Seek to know the will of God as revealed in Christ. Under the tension and excitement of crisis, with the tendency everywhere to expect every institution to serve the interests of the state, the temptation for the local church to pray that God will further human purposes is great. The temptation is subtle because many attribute to the state superhuman, almost divine, qualities. We have already analyzed this confusion of the voice of the state with the voice of God. We must persistently remind ourselves that our prayer should always be, "Not my will, but thine."

To know the will of God we must seek to comprehend the attitude of God toward the present world situation. Is that presumptuous? Is it not preposterous to assume that we might comprehend the heart and mind of God? No; we believe that in many ways, but supremely in Christ, we see the heart and mind, the will, of God revealed in history, in the midst of human conflict, sin, and suffering.

In prayer, therefore, we try to see the world and its people somewhat as God must see them. Here again we must do our utmost to start with God, not with ourselves, to remember that these British, German, French, Dutch, Norwegian, Japanese, and Chinese men and women and children are all of concern to the Father. Jesus taught us to regard God as our Father, and emphasized the Father's love for sinning, suffering humanity.

When we approach God realizing that he is both a God of justice and a Father with infinite compassion for his children, we are teachable and more likely to learn his will. Then our attitude toward the problems of the world will be such that we shall be more likely to get clear guidance

concerning his will for us and for the world. Then we shall be able to make our decisions and choices with more confidence that they are in conformity with the eternal purposes.

The individual and the local group of Christians who do not spend much time seeking to know the will of God will almost certainly make immediate decisions too largely upon the basis of human passions and knowledge and in conformity with the immediate ends of the state, which are likely to be our own self-interest writ large.

Contemplate Christ. We dare not try to walk through these perplexing and hazardous days without spending much time in contemplation of Christ upon the cross. There, supremely, we see God's way of dealing with a world that has lost its way. We have been so absorbed in the analysis of the Cross in its relation to our own personal salvation that we have neglected its meaning as a principle of history and its significance for the world in all its problems.

Much of the worship of the local church may well be spent at the foot of the Cross in a day when God's love is being so cruelly crucified again by the greed and violence of men. (A more extensive consideration of the meaning of the Cross as a principle of history will be found in the next chapter.)

Plead for courage, strength, faith, and a Christlike spirit for ourselves. Unless our daily lives—our conduct and spirit—are conspicuously different from the prevailing standards of the world, we are not serving the world or following Christ as we should. It takes courage to represent the Christian way of life in the borderline between Japanese

occupation and guerrilla territory in China, or in any state that is totalitarian either from policy or war-time expediency. But even in our own country it is not easy to be Christian in the face of cynicism and widespread moral irresponsibility.

When conflict arises in the local community because of race or nationality or as a result of unchristian nationalism, reproducing in principle the conflicts in the world abroad, does the church transcend the conflict, does it give a demonstration of how the family of God should live together? Or does it reproduce in its own life the conflicts and estrangements that are wrecking the international structure?

The local church and the individual must spend much time in prayer that they may be faithful, worthy to bear the name of Christ.

Give thanks to God for Christ and for our assurance of victory through him. Having brought into the presence of God in worship all the sorrows of the world and having sought his guidance and power, we should give thanks that in spite of all the wrongs of men God is not defeated, moral forces are ultimate, and the Christian, following his Master, is never futile. It is never appropriate for the Christian to despair or to be panic-stricken. That is to betray a loss of faith. Prayer that lacks this ultimate confidence and assurance has missed its way and has turned in upon itself.

If the church is to serve the world today, its constituent local fellowships must be constantly in prayer from which they rise without bitterness but reconciled to each other and their brothers around the world, reassured of the love of God, confident in the power of God, strong and quiet, fearing not the face of man.

In ways beyond our power of comprehension, and in a measure beyond our faith, Christians could bind this broken world together if they would pray as Christians should. Here is a primary and essential opportunity and responsibility of the local church.

Chapter Eight

THE CHRISTIAN WAY

THE most desperate need of the world today is not so much for ends, purposes, ideals, as-for means, methods, techniques. It is unfortunate that the word "strategy" holds so much of the connotation of its military derivation, implying deception, or at least that which is disingenuous. There should be a word that denotes a plan, method, and philosophy of action that is entirely open and ingenuous and concerned with the procedure by which an end or objective already determined is to be achieved. If "strategy" could be used in this sense, we should say that the world's most desperate need is for a strategy for achieving its generally accepted objectives.

There is not much point in spending more time and energy in declaring our commitment to the ends of justice, liberty, and right as abstractions. There is more point in defining their real meaning; but when we do that we are quite likely to define them in terms of our own traditions or our self-interest. For example, a prosperous man will probably define liberty in terms of the Bill of Rights; a sharecropper will define it in terms of the opportunity to make a sufficient living to support his family. Political liberty is

not so important to him. As someone has said, "You can't eat the Bill of Rights." Men equally devoted to liberty may fight each other, though committed to the same end in the abstract. So there is need for a better understanding of the nature of our ethical ends.

The overwhelming majority of the people in the world want justice, liberty, and right. They also want these same values in world order. Those ideals have been the cornerstones of the social structure of the Western world, inherent in our tradition since the days of the Hebrew prophets and of Plato and Aristotle. The extent to which people are committed to these ends today is indicated by the fact that every national leader who wants to induce people to fight must define the purpose of the war in terms of these ends. Whether these are the ends for which they fight or whether the leader sincerely believes that they are, is beside the point here (though of immense importance historically). The point is that people are committed to these ends.

The burning question is: How are we to achieve our purposes? How get justice, liberty, and right? Knowledge in itself does not make men just. Legislation in itself does not make men moral. And that is not to deny value in knowledge and legislation. But they are not enough; the Greeks knew that.

High ethical social ideals had been defined before Christ's time, and he did not add much to the definition, except to make it more explicit at points and to emphasize the inner meaning of the ideals. What Christ added in the field of social ethics was not so much in the realm of ends as in the realm of means. In this field the unique contribution of

Christianity to the world is a new way of striving for and attaining those ends.

Christ was deeply concerned about human relationships in their personal and mass aspects. His life purpose was to set men right with God and with each other. Blocking the achievement of that purpose was evil—evil in the human heart and in mass social relationships. He sought justice, liberty, and right. He was confronted with injustice, oppression, and wrong. He saw men committed to high ends baffled by hostile motives in their own hearts and hostile forces in the world. How was the victory to be won?

We study his teaching and his way of life to find his answer. At many points we do not agree as to what his answer is in detail. But are we not agreed on some crucial main points, which indicate in principle Christ's way? Let us briefly outline some of the basic points:

1. The individual cannot save himself. Unaided, a man cannot win the battle with his own more selfish and meaner impulses. To use theological terms that have deep meaning in human experience and are well understood by Christians, this is to say that an individual cannot overcome "sin" and "save" himself by his own efforts.

2. A cost must be paid, beyond what is involved in the efforts of an individual himself, if he is to overcome his lower impulses. That is to say, there is no individual salvation apart from a costly process. This is why the Cross and the whole principle of redemption are essential in the Christian view. There is no easy way by which an individual can transform his life. We know that improved environment may help. It is easier for a man to be good in whole-

some surroundings and helpful influences; and a good man can be more effective if he has the advantage of good environment. But good environment, in itself, does not change a man's motives and impulses. Education, likewise, is a help, but an educated man with mean impulses may become more dangerous even to himself and especially to society if his motives are still bad. There can be frustration, immorality, and socially harmful behavior on Park Avenue as well as in the slums, although it may be of a more sophisticated nature. If individuals automatically became better in their fundamental conduct and character through better standards of living and education, it would not be essential that they have any religion. This is not to say that Christianity is not interested in improving standards of living and education. Rather it is to say that those factors, though useful, are not in themselves enough.

3. Human society cannot save itself. What is true of the struggle between good and evil impulses in the individual is true for society. Otherwise, there would be no need for Christianity, and the Cross would not be essential. The world becomes better only as the result of a costly process that is again called redemptive.

4. The good life and the higher impulses—justice, liberty, and right—gain their ascendancy over the evil life and motives—injustice, oppression, and wrong—both in individual experience and in society through a costly process that involves the Cross and redemption. It is this insight that the church must give to the world if it is to make its unique contribution in the realm of strategy.

To make this contribution the church must, first, point

out the inadequacy of a merely secular analysis of the world's problems. The Reverend V. A. Demant of England, in a paper preparatory to the Oxford Conference, said:

The specifically Christian message can never be merely a better answer to the world's problem as stated in the world's own way, however noble the world's interpreters may be; still less can it be taking the world's answer to its own problem and trying to give it a kind of religious intensity.¹

Without recognizing this indispensable factor of redemption in relation to the world's problems, ends and ideals—no matter how lofty and how adequate—cannot be achieved. As Mr. Demant points out:

The Christian message is not unique in its attitude to "the wicked world," but in its contrast to "the good world." The world does not need the church to give it moral ideals, it has plenty of these and to spare. "The good world" needs the faith, because its final tragic problem is not the poverty of its aims, but its inability to follow them. It needs redemption, not advice.²

That one vital sentence of Mr. Demant's is of immense significance: "It needs redemption, not advice." The most tragic impoverishment of the church's contribution to the world lies in the fact that it has been more concerned about giving advice than acting as an agency of God's redeeming power. This was set forth very pointedly in the Message of the Oxford Conference:

¹ *The Universal Church and the World of Nations*, by the Marquess of Lothian *et al.*, p. 175. Oxford Conference Books, Vol. 7. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1938. Used by permission.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

The modern world . . . has never been wholly without the preaching of the gospel. Dare we ascribe its present plight solely to its willful rejection of the Word of life and the things which belong to its peace? Nay, is not the modern situation God's call to a church which has been content to preach the redeeming Word without the costly redeeming deed?¹

5. The Cross represents a principle of history—God's way of overcoming the evil both in the hearts of individuals and in the world. As a principle of history it is the voluntary concession of self-interest made in compassion for the sin and suffering of men. This interpretation or definition does not presume, by any means, to exhaust the significance of the Cross. It is only an attempt to reduce to terms of ordinary human experience what it means for the individual to follow the way of the Cross and thus become an agent of God's power for overcoming evil. We are not discussing here the theological explanation of the process of redemption in terms of the individual's salvation. That discussion has so absorbed the attention of theology and the church during recent centuries that we have neglected the significance of the Cross as a principle of history.

6. The individual finds salvation through the Cross of Christ, but he finds that he himself is required to follow the way of the Cross. Herein lies the essential Christian insight into the relationship between a man's own personal destiny, his relations with other men, and the salvation of the world. We do not know what may be God's ultimate purpose and plans for the salvation of the world; but for us now our responsibility is to follow in the way of Christ as he com-

¹ *The Message and Decisions of Oxford*, p. 9. New York, Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, 1937.

manded us, which is the way of the Cross, believing that by so doing we are following God's way of drawing the world back to himself. Christ said, "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." (*Matthew 16:24.*)

Running through this review of Christian principles at every point is the fact of cost. There is no progress, no victory, without cost. Justice, liberty, and right have always been bought and kept at a price. World order, justice, and peace will cost. They will not come as the inevitable end result of some automatic evolutionary process. Nor will they come by mere wishing. No matter how earnestly and intelligently we talk about their desirability, they will be remote until we pay the price.

THE COST OF ORDER AND JUSTICE

In 1938 when the general international situation was deteriorating, when catastrophe was an ominous threat but not inevitable, many people were examining possibilities of a peaceful and just solution of the most difficult problems. Many statesmen, politicians, and churchmen were urging a comprehensive international economic conference. Paul Van Zeeland, an outstanding economist, went from one capital to another trying to lay the foundations for a conference. Numerous statesmen in Europe were giving him encouragement.

Several American churchmen went to Washington for a conference with a very high government official to urge him to take active leadership through the channel of our government to promote the conference procedure and, if possible,

arrange for a world economic conference. This mission had the endorsement of the presiding heads of twenty-one of the leading American denominations.¹ The conference with the responsible government official was significant and highly illuminating. I cannot be specific in the mention of names, but as a member of that group I can summarize the content of the discussion at one crucial point. The conversation was in principle as follows:

OFFICIAL: Do you think we can trust the word of Hitler?

CHURCHMAN: That is not necessary. We do not need to rely upon the pledged word of any government completely. The fulfillment of the terms of the agreement can be made contingent upon demobilization and disarmament all around. If one of the parties fails to disarm, the other parties will be relieved of the responsibility to disarm. If the nations demobilize and disarm, they will be unable to disturb the peace even if they are inclined to do so and to break their word. Britain and France will not disarm unless Germany disarms.

OFFICIAL: Can Hitler afford to demobilize and disarm?

CHURCHMAN: No, he will then have a large army of unemployed on his hands—both the demobilized and those who will be thrown out of employment in the industries that are producing arms, unless those industries produce consumers' goods.

OFFICIAL: And what will be done with those consumers' goods?

CHURCHMAN: I see precisely what you are coming to.

¹ See p. 96.

Those consumers' goods cannot all be used in Germany. Many of them will have to be exported.

OFFICIAL: And where will they be sold abroad?

CHURCHMAN: We cannot avoid competing with them in the world's markets. Some would cut into our sales in South America. Perhaps we should have to take some of them ourselves.

OFFICIAL: And what will American business and industry say to that? (Mentioning a specific association by name.)

OFFICIAL COLLEAGUE: And what will American labor say to that?

CHURCHMAN: This is the heart of the problem.

OFFICIAL: And these people are in your pews, gentlemen.

Could there be a more pertinent and pointed example of the fact that international order and justice cost concessions of self-interest right down to the fundamental considerations of standards of living?

Perhaps concession in 1938 would have been futile because too late. That point is debatable. But who will argue that if some such concessions had been made five or ten years earlier, there is a very good chance that the course of history might have been quite different? We were very pointedly asked to make such concessions back in the days when liberal democratic leaders were in power in Germany. Our answer was such measures as the Smoot-Hawley tariffs to protect ourselves against competition. The majority of our leading economists warned of the dangerous consequences for ourselves and others. Short-sighted selfishness of interest groups and the apathy of the majority were responsible for a tragic error. We would not pay the price.

Similar in principle and in effect were the Ottawa Agreements protecting trade within the British Empire.

In international relations as in other human relations, when those who have a preponderance of power and wealth take measures to improve their position without regard for others, they do not permanently guarantee their own security but rather make revolution almost inevitable.

Change will come, either by peaceful processes or by war. In the orderly civil community with its government, law, and force, peaceful change is facilitated by restraints and compulsions: fortunes are made and lost, corporations flourish and subside, political parties gain and lose power. When a dominant power uses government for its own ends and tries to crush the dynamic upsurge of those who would increase their power, it makes for revolution, as in the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution.

The Oxford Conference made this point very emphatically. It said:

The fact that no superior political agency exists to impose from time to time a new order in international affairs to conform to changing needs means not that the existing order will remain static but that change can occur in only one of two ways—namely, by voluntary action, or by force or the menace of force.

It therefore particularly devolves upon Christians to devote themselves to securing by voluntary action of their nations such changes in the international order as are from time to time required to avoid injustice and to promote equality of opportunity for individuals throughout the world.¹

¹ "The Universal Church and the World of Nations" (Study Series), p. 11. New York, Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, 1937.

The "superior political agency" will cost in terms of the dilution of national sovereignty. A better system than the present will cost voluntary concession of immediate self-interest. There is no easy and cheap road to justice and peace.

But the alternative is war—and at what a cost! Could any system of international relations be more costly than the present system of sovereign states, power politics, and war? It is scarcely necessary to review the list of costs: millions of dead; millions of wounded; the destruction of cultural values; the expenditure of fabulous sums, which, if put to constructive purposes, would adequately supply hundreds of millions with schools, hospitals, homes, churches, roads, and libraries; bitterness; hatred; and the seeds for still more wars.

Nevertheless we pay the cost of war with scarcely a whimper and complain loudly against paying a price for peace. During recent months we in the United States have inaugurated a program of expansion of our preparation for war estimated at an annual cost of some ten billions of dollars, and hardly any question has been raised about it. It is assumed to be necessary. And yet we have heard loud and bitter complaints against the Reciprocal Trade Agreements, promoted by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, because here and there profits have been somewhat diminished for a time in a particular industry. The fact that the Agreements were in the interest of peace and justice—which was generally conceded—did not seem to count. Mr. Hull's policy had to be defended on the grounds that it was increasing trade and profits for the United States. Its ethical validity and its value for world peace seemed to be politically irrelevant.

Either we do not see that we cannot have peace and justice except at a large cost, or we are unwilling to pay the price. Probably it is a combination of both—stupidity and selfishness.

It must be pointed out that these costs and concessions are only temporary and that in the long run, and in terms of the general welfare, the general increase of prosperity will more than compensate for the immediate losses. Practically every technical or social advance results in a temporary dislocation which constitutes a hardship for someone. Many icemen were thrown out of employment by the advent of the mechanical refrigerator, but there was compensating employment in the manufacture and servicing of the new refrigerators. In the United States there have been instances of hardship temporarily for a given state because of the freedom of interstate commerce. For example, Massachusetts lost many textile factories to the South some years ago because of the lower living standards and consequently lower labor costs in some Southern states. There is compensation, however, in the increased purchasing capacity of the South for manufactured goods from New England.

Even if there were not early compensation for economic loss, the ethical responsibility for mutual help would remain. What American, for example, would say that the farmers of South Dakota, whose land became worthless through erosion and dust storms, should have been forbidden to look for new homes in other states or to seek employment elsewhere? Who would complain against assistance from the Federal government by way of relief for those who were caught by such misfortune? Would the citizens of

New York and Pennsylvania insist that since those men were residents of another state they could look out for themselves and had no claim to help from the nation as a whole? From a Christian point of view, there is an analogous responsibility in the world community for assistance to the people of any nation in their efforts at economic and social adjustments to improve their own lot. In the long run it has contributed to the prosperity of our nation as a whole to have this freedom of intercourse and mutual responsibility and mutual helpfulness among the several states. Why should not that same consideration apply to the world community?

But in terms of the immediate situation, there is no escaping the cost to the more prosperous nations, including our own, of international adjustments that would contribute to a more stable and just order. Unless we are willing to pay the cost, which involves sharing to a larger extent than we have been willing to do in the past the common lot and fate of humanity, we shall continue to have unjust and unstable international relations, and we shall continue to pay the costs of war.

Much of our modern liberalism has been, both within and without the churches, ineffective because of its neglect of this factor of cost. It has been unrealistic and sentimental or romantically optimistic. Every dynamic movement demands sacrifice.

However, we must not jump to the conclusion that sacrifice automatically produces good results. Not all suffering and sacrifice is redemptive. It is erroneous and confounding to talk about the Cross in connection with all suffering and

sacrifice. Therefore it will be instructive to consider the part played by sacrifice in some of the dynamic movements of our day.

THE DYNAMIC FACTOR IN TOTALITARIANISM

On the night of January 19, 1940, I spent a couple of hours in the large restaurant-waiting room of the station at Karlsruhe in Germany. Most of the tables were occupied. Hundreds of people, mostly soldiers, came and went as trains arrived or departed. Many waited for delayed trains. It was a sober, quiet crowd—Germany near the front in war time.

Opposite where I sat was a huge mural painting—a mountain scene with youth in outing equipment pressing up the trail toward distant summits, as I remember it, wholesome and invigorating. But my attention soon focused upon the dominant feature of the room, a dignified, strong, confident portrait of Adolf Hitler in the center of the end wall, flanked by two quotations from the same man. To the left of the portrait, this sentence: "Obstacles are there, not that one should capitulate before them, but that one should overcome them. A. Hitler." ("Widerstände sind nicht da dass man vor ihnen kapituliert sondern dass man sie bricht. A. Hitler.")

Relating this quotation to the youth in the mountain scene and to their leader, one could explain some things about Germany.

Then I looked at the quotation at the other side of the portrait: "Strength consists not in the majority but in the sincerity of the will to make sacrifice. A. Hitler." ("Stärke

liegt nicht in der Mehrheit sondern in der Reinheit des Willens Opfer zu bringen. A. Hitler.") True. Profoundly true! But—I said to myself—that is Christian teaching; it is the faith of the church. At first I was indignant to find the principle used in this secular context. Don't these people see the incongruity? Then, on second thought, my resentment subsided and was displaced by a mood of humility and regret. The church has not been so conspicuously characterized by a sincere will to make sacrifice as to make it impossible for the political leader of this secular movement to appropriate the principle without obvious incongruity. The church has so far abandoned its disciplines as to make it possible for a rival movement committed to ends in some respects antagonistic to take over its disciplines. And I am not speaking of the church in Germany alone.

The older churches have made religion cheap. They have demanded little. With the younger churches in some lands it is different. There it costs to be a Christian. But the older churches pride themselves in the strength of the majority, in numbers and budgets. They coax their members to give a little of their marginal time and their small change to the Christian movement.

Dynamic movements are always costly; when they become cheap they become decadent. Compare the demands of organized Christianity upon European youth with the demands of communism and national socialism. Life had grown stale and futile for the youth of Germany. Then came Hitler with a call that measured strength in terms of sacrifice. He held up a cause, a goal, which was bigger than petty self-interest—the welfare of the German people.

Through the comradeship of sacrifice for the people he established a sense of community. Unless we understand these aspects of the situation in Germany, we cannot understand fully the dynamic power of national socialism.

The tragedy—the unmeasured tragedy—is that the sacrifice is demanded for a community that is narrowly limited and exclusive, as is frequently the case when nationalism is accentuated among a people emerging from despair. Following the World War, Germany was a spiritual vacuum, only a little more exhausted than some other Western countries, and it sucked into its own life the first dynamic movement that emerged. With all its destruction and death, Hitler's movement *was* dynamic. And for many people the movement had elements of high ethical values, as has the nationalism so prevalent throughout the world today. (No wonder it is called demonic!) One of the elements of ethical value is this strength of sacrifice. That quotation on the wall in Karlsruhe is in its significance one of the most tragic anomalies of our tragic world.

Communism, fascism, and national socialism all emphasize the factor of sacrifice. It is to be found in the "sacred writings" of these movements. In Article 12 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., 1936, we find this statement: "Work in the U.S.S.R. is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, on the principle, 'He who does not work shall not eat.'"

Benito Mussolini, in an article entitled "The Doctrine of Fascism," in the *Encyclopedie Italiana*, says:

Life, therefore, as conceived by the Fascist, is serious, austere, religious: the whole of it is poised in a world supported by the

moral and responsible forces of the spirit. The Fascist despairs the "comfortable" life.¹

And again:

The Fascist accepts and loves life, he knows nothing of suicide and despises it; he looks on life as duty, ascent, conquest: life which must be noble and full: lived for oneself, but *above all for those others near and far away, present and future.* (Italics supplied.)²

The "Twenty-Five Points" of the party to which Hitler summoned the youth of Germany include these statements:

[The Party] is convinced that our nation can achieve permanent well-being from within on the principle of placing the common interests before self-interest. . . . The leaders of the Party swear to proceed regardless of consequences—if necessary to sacrifice their lives—in securing the fulfillment of the foregoing points.³

SOME PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Now let us consider some practical implications of these insights that are generally accepted by the church. Consider the missionary enterprise as a redemptive process. We said that this process involves the voluntary concession of self-interest in compassion for the sin and suffering of the world. The whole missionary enterprise is both the giving of life on the part of missionaries and the giving of money, time, talent, and prayers on the part of those who support them—

¹ Quoted in *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe*, edited by Michael J. Oakeshott, p. 165. By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

and giving voluntarily. There is no compulsion except our own faith and the command of Christ.

The missionary who leaves home and security, and the member of the church at home who gives money, are both making concessions of immediate self-interest. It would be much easier and more comfortable for the missionary to remain in the security of home and among his own kind. The dollars that are given to support him might otherwise be used for vacations, automobiles, radios, books, or for any other purpose to provide personal enjoyment. There is therefore a voluntary concession of self-interest.

The spirit in which this concession is made is a spirit of concern and compassion. Those who make the concessions do so not in resentment nor arrogance nor conceit, but out of a spirit of good will. Furthermore, this concession is made on behalf of people who are suffering and sinful with the purpose of relieving their suffering and helping them to overcome their sin by bringing them to God through Christ. Therefore, the missionary enterprise may be taken as a conspicuous example of the strategy and process of redemption as we have defined it. This is why, as we have said above, the very fact of missions is of perhaps greater importance than any particular thing that the missionaries do.

We can also see in the missionary enterprise what was meant by our sixth principle stated above, namely, that the individual finds salvation as he follows the way of the Cross. We have observed that the church that gives to missions "until it hurts" is apt to be a spiritually vital and strong church. It is obvious to anyone who knows the general character of missionaries that as a rule they have achieved

a spiritual discipline and a victory over mean impulses that are usually related at least in part to the nature of their life.

In Foreign Relief

The work of the churches for foreign relief is another example of the redemptive strategy. Here the giving is voluntary and in a spirit of compassion for a suffering world. Thus it helps to challenge the meaner conduct of the world and to encourage people in their loyalty to high ideals. This influence operates both among those who receive help and among those who give it.

In National Policy

This principle of redemption is also a safe guiding principle with regard to national policy. It must be pointed out that the strategy is not effective apart from the spiritual discipline involved in the spirit of compassion. Nations, which are not as readily subject to spiritual discipline as are churches or individuals, may not be so effective in a concession of self-interest as is the case where there is a more effective discipline. Even so, there are examples of national conduct that have done much to improve international relations and to raise generally the whole spirit of the peoples involved. Take, for example, the way in which the United States government handled the matter of the Boxer indemnity. Here was voluntary concession of self-interest. It was redemptive in that it challenged the better motives, especially of Americans and Chinese, but also of all people who knew about it and understood it. Who would question, even in terms of long-range self-interest, that the action of the

United States in this case was politically expedient as well as Christian?

In the Dilution of National Sovereignty

Our whole discussion of the problem of national sovereignty should be recalled in this connection.¹ The doctrine of absolute national sovereignty rests upon the sanctification of self-interest of the nation. As we saw in our analysis of this problem, the official representatives of a nation are, by the very theory of the nature of the state, obliged to serve its own interest rather than the interest of the general world community or of other nations when there is a conflict of interests. Any dilution of national sovereignty, therefore, involves a concession of self-interest on the part of the nation. During the period between the World War of 1914-1918 and the present wars, nations were not under compulsion to yield any measure of sovereignty. Whatever concessions were made were made voluntarily, but they were slight. During more recent months some nations have yielded national sovereignty under compulsion. Because of this fact of coercion there is no moral value in the limitations accepted by such countries as Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Belgium.

If, earlier in the present period of crisis, the United States had indicated that it cared so much about maintaining order and achieving justice in the world that it would surrender its right to be entirely independent in determining its course of action, it might have gone a very long way toward preventing the present catastrophe, not only because of the

¹ See Chapter Two, pp. 29 ff.

consequences of such action in strengthening international organization, but because of its influence on international morality. No one knows how soon we may have another opportunity as a nation to make this particular kind of concession of self-interest on behalf of world political organization, but the time will come when the choice will again be upon us. If we adopt a policy of aloofness, we shall contribute to cynicism and disintegration. If we voluntarily make a concession of self-interest because of our concern for justice and order in the world, and do it in a spirit of good will rather than condescending arrogance, we shall renew men's hope and faith and, therefore, contribute to the moral force that will be necessary for the undergirding of any effective political structure.

In Relations with Latin America

The same principle is the only safe guide for our national policy with regard to Latin America. If our chief concern in consolidating the Western Hemisphere in political, economic, and other ways is to serve our own interest as a nation, we may be sure that our policy will lead only to disaster because we will be inducing suspicion and resentment. If, on the other hand, we have a genuine concern for the welfare of our neighbors to the south and to the north, and if we express that concern in our policy by making concessions of our own immediate self-interest, then we shall be laying the foundations for a genuine collaboration and mutual trust. The nations to the south view our policy with some misgivings arising from their past experience. They are at this time encouraged to develop a closer relationship

with us because of their fear of the consequences to them of recent developments in Europe. But if the factor of fear should be removed, our relationships with them would be a more delicate matter.

It is, therefore, political expedience for us to found the solidarity of our hemisphere upon moral factors that will be independent of threats from across the Atlantic and that will endure through the years to come. The possibility of our achieving this is already somewhat compromised by the fact that we have shown much more interest in our neighbors since we ourselves have become somewhat fearful of the consequences to ourselves of a change in their status resulting from events in Europe. It looks to the world very much as if our solicitude for weaker nations to the south grew out of our own self-interest. That is one reason why they are somewhat suspicious of the new trends in our policy. It therefore devolves upon us to adopt a generous attitude. Christian principle will prove politically expedient.

Munich and all that the word implies is sometimes cited as proof that Christian principles are not effective in practical politics in the modern world. It should, therefore, be pointed out that the Munich Agreement did not fulfill the requirements of our definition of the Christian way in terms of a redemptive process. Munich did not involve a voluntary concession of self-interest. It was a concession resulting either from inability or unwillingness to do anything else than make concession. It was not even a concession of self-interest, but a coercion of others to yield their interest. It was not made in good will and compassion. On the contrary, it was a political maneuver. Of course, there was nothing

redemptive about it or about any concession made involuntarily and in resentment for the purpose of trying to protect other selfish interests.

In our analysis of what is wrong with the world we emphasized the factors of selfishness and irresponsibility. In our analysis of what is needed we emphasized the necessity of the willingness to pay the price of responsibility in national as well as personal behavior. What is needed is, therefore, applied preeminently in principle by what we are describing as the Christian way. Our whole discussion of the constructive contribution of the church and of the state can be summarized in these principles.

In the Life of the Churches

One of the greatest tragedies of the present situation is that the churches, in their own life and work, have not been more conspicuously characterized by the Christian way. They are not in as strong a position as they should be in calling upon the secular community to adopt the Christian strategy because they have often been more concerned about saving their own institutional life and prosperity than in helping a sinful and suffering world.

Not long ago I spoke to the women's organization in a wealthy and influential American church, urging them to sacrificial giving for the support of Christian enterprises in France, which was at war at the time. I had, a short time previously, been among the refugees and évacuées in France. I had witnessed their hardship and need of a ministry of Christian helpfulness. I had seen pastors and others attempting to meet those needs with very meager financial

resources. In many instances it had been impossible for pastors to visit members of their congregations where there was trouble or death because the pastors did not have enough money to buy gasoline to make calls in their wide parishes. The children among the evacuées were living under very trying circumstances. Young people from the Student Christian Movement had teams to provide help for these children but they, too, lacked financial resources to do their work at all adequately. I pleaded with the women in this church group to give sacrificially for such Christian work in France.

When I sat down, a gentleman was introduced to speak to the group about a beautiful dream that some people in the church had had. I immediately began to wonder just who had been thinking about what that particular church might do for their struggling Christian comrades, but my hopes were soon dashed when he made an appeal for a thirty thousand dollar fund to landscape the church grounds, which were already quite presentable. Such was the dream! In the midst of a suffering world there were some in that church who were more interested in the institutional pride of their church than in the suffering of the world. The story does not have as tragic an ending as it might, because the inappropriateness of the appeal for the landscape gardening was so obvious that no further effort was made to obtain funds for it and some funds were provided for the Christian teams working among the children in France.

The churches of the world, notably perhaps the churches of America, face in this hour a momentous choice. If they become so preoccupied with the struggle to maintain their

own institutional prosperity and prestige as to neglect the suffering world about them, they will both fail the world and be disloyal to their own faith. The paradoxical principle that Christ enunciated to his disciples and validated by his life and death applies to the church as well as to the individual: "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it." (*Mark 8:35.*)

The church that becomes so obsessed with its concern for a sinful and suffering world as to risk its very life, demonstrating to the world a voluntary concession of self-interest in compassion for the sin and suffering of the world, may be used of God as an instrument of his redemptive power to draw this tragic world back to himself.

A GREETING

*From the Biennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in America, Atlantic City, New
Jersey, December 13, 1940*

To our brothers in Christ in all lands throughout the world, affectionate greetings:

In this hour of confusion and strife we rejoice that neither distance, nor language, nor race, nor national loyalty, nor conflict, nor war can separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. However deep the cleavages that divide men, our fellowship in Christ remains unbroken through all change. We have not experienced the darkness of the night which has fallen upon many of you; and we cannot therefore fully comprehend the depth of your anguish. We solemnly pledge to you our loyal comradeship in prayer that we all may remain faithful. Through this holy fellowship of prayer for you and with you, we gather at the foot of the Cross that we there may learn how suffering may transcend tragedy and be used of God to draw a sinful world unto himself.

May the peace of God keep you in all quietness and confidence of his grace.

Reading List

THE following list is in no sense exhaustive, but contains some of the books and pamphlets dealing with the theme of the present volume. The views of the authors represented here are not necessarily in harmony with those of the author of this book. Leaders of study groups using *A Christian Imperative* will find a helpful guide in the pamphlet entitled "Discussion and Program Suggestions for Adults on 'Christians and World Order,'" by Minnie W. and Charles H. Corbett, published by the Friendship Press, New York, and available through denominational literature headquarters; price twenty-five cents. •

"Alternative to International Anarchy, The." Roswell P. Barnes *et al.* A Paper Submitted to the International Missionary Council Meeting, Madras, 1938. New York, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1938. 10 cents.

AMERICA AND A NEW WORLD ORDER. Graeme Keith Howard. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. \$2.00.

"American Churches and the International Situation, The." Prepared by John Foster Dulles. New York, Federal Council of Churches, 1940. 5 cents.

CAN CHRISTIANITY SAVE CIVILIZATION? Walter Marshall Horton. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1940. \$2.00.

CHRISTIAN ALTERNATIVE TO WORLD CHAOS, THE. Luman J. Shafer. New York, Round Table Press, 1940. \$2.00.

CHRISTIAN MESSAGE IN A NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD, THE. Hendrik Kraemer. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1938. \$3.00.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND A NEW WORLD CULTURE. Archibald G. Baker. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1934. \$2.00.

CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION. Arnold J. Toynbee. London, Student Christian Movement Press, 1940. 1/-.

- CHRISTIANITY—AND OUR WORLD. John C. Bennett. New York, Association Press, 1936. 50 cents. (Hazen Books on Religion.)
- CHRISTIANITY AND POWER POLITICS. Reinhold Niebuhr. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. \$1.50.
- CHRISTIANITY AND WORLD ORDER. Bishop of Chichester. New York, Penguin Books, Inc., 1940. 25 cents.
- CHRISTIANS IN AN UNCHRISTIAN SOCIETY. Ernest Fremont Tittle. New York, Association Press, 1939. 50 cents. (Hazen Books on Religion.)
- CHURCH AGAINST THE WORLD, THE. H. Richard Niebuhr. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1935. \$2.00.
- CHURCH FACES THE WORLD, THE. Samuel McCrea Cavert, editor. New York, Round Table Press, 1939. \$1.50.
- "Churches and the International Crisis, The." A memorandum prepared by a conference convened at Geneva in 1939 by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches. New York, Federal Council of Churches. 10 cents.
- "Churches and the International Situation, The." A Guide for Study and Discussion. New York, Federal Council of Churches, 1940. 10 cents.
- COOPERATION AS A WAY OF PEACE. James Peter Warbasse. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1939. \$1.00.
- CO-OPERATION OR COERCION? L. P. Jacks. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1938. \$2.00.
- CREATIVE SOCIETY: A STUDY OF THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO COMMUNISM. John MacMurray. New York, Association Press, 1936. \$1.50.
- DARE YOU FACE FACTS? Muñiel Lester. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1940. \$1.25.
- ECONOMIC BASES OF PEACE, THE. Ernest Minor Patterson. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. \$2.50.
- ESSAYS ON NATIONALISM. Carlton J. H. Hayes. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1926. \$3.00.
- ETHICAL ISSUES CONFRONTING WORLD CHRISTIANS. Daniel Johnson Fleming. New York, International Missionary Council, 1935. \$2.00.

- EVANGEL OF A NEW WORLD, THE. Albert Edward Day. Nashville, Cokesbury Press, 1939. \$1.50.
- FAITH BY WHICH THE CHURCH LIVES, THE. Georgia Harkness. New York, The Abingdon Press, 1940. \$1.50.
- FOR THE HEALING OF THE NATIONS. Henry P. Van Dusen. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940. Cloth \$1.00; paper (Friendship Press edition) 60 cents.
- HOUR AND ITS NEED, THE. William Paton. London, Edinburgh House Press, 1939. 1/-.
- INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. Eduard Benes, Arthur Feiler, and Rushton Coulborn. University of Chicago Press, 1939. \$2.00.
- LIVING RELIGIONS AND A WORLD FAITH. William Ernest Hocking. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1940. \$2.50.
- MESSAGE AND DECISIONS OF OXFORD ON CHURCH, COMMUNITY AND STATE, THE. New York, Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, 1937. 25 cents.
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- CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE COMMON LIFE. Nils Ehrenstrom *et al.* Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1937. \$2.00. (Vol. 4.)
- CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE MODERN STATE. Nils Ehrenstrom. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1937. \$1.50. (Vol. 9.)
- CHURCH AND ITS FUNCTION IN SOCIETY, THE. W. A. Visser 't Hooft and J. H. Oldham. Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1937. \$2.00. (Vol. 1.)
- UNIVERSAL CHURCH AND THE WORLD OF NATIONS, THE. Marquess of Lothian *et al.* Chicago, Willett, Clark & Co., 1937. \$2.00. (Vol. 7.)

- "Putting Madras into Action." Reprint of Commission Reports, including Number IV on "World Tensions," from the meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference held in Swarthmore, Pa., June, 1939. New York, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1939. 10 cents.
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- TOWARD A WORLD CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP. Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York, Association Press, 1938. 50 cents. (Hazen Books on Religion.)
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- WORLD COMMUNITY. William Paton. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1939. \$1.50.
- "World Mission of Christianity, The." Messages and Recommendations of the Enlarged Meeting of the International Missionary Council held at Jerusalem, 1928. New York, International Missionary Council, 1928. 25 cents.

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